

KHAFI KHAN'S HISTORY OF AURANGZEB

VOL. I INTRODUCTION

THESIS
SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE
OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN HISTORY
TO THE ALIGARH MUSLIM UNIVERSITY
ALIGARH

By
(Miss) ANEES JAHAN, M. A.
Lecturer in History
M. H. College of Home Science,
Jabalpur (M.P.)



T297

KHAFI KHAN'S HISTORY

OF AURANGZEB

VOL. I

C o n t e n t s

<u>Chapter</u>		<u>Page</u>
I	Sadiq Khan: <u>Badshah Namah</u>	1
II	Abul Fasl Masuri: <u>History of Aurangzeb -</u> <u>Continuation of Sadiq Khan's</u> <u>Badshah Namah</u>	24
III	Aqil Khan Razi: <u>Wasiat-i Alauddin</u>	50
IV	Mohammed Kazim: <u>The Alauddin Namah</u>	56
V	<u>The Fatawa-i Alauddin</u>	69
VI	Nimat Khan-i Ali: <u>The Wajia or Fatah-i Haiderabad</u>	76
VII	Khaf'i Khan: <u>The Muntakhabul Lubab</u>	86
VIII	Khaf'i Khan's debt to Sadiq Khan and Masuri	105
IX	Controversies about Aurangzeb	129
X	The Monarchy and the <u>Shariat</u>	156
XI	The <u>Fatawa-i-Alauddin</u> on the non-Muslims	155
XII	The Policy of Aurangzeb - the Second Decade of the Reign.	165

PREFACE

On February 13, 1954, the Academic Council of the Muslim University, after considering the recommendations of the History Department, the Committee of Advanced Studies and the Faculty of Arts, specified the following topic for my Ph.D. thesis:-
" English translation of Khafi Khan's Muntakhabul Lubab - the portion dealing with the reign of Aurangzeb up to 1681 with introduction and critical notes". At the same time Prof. Sh. A. Rashid, Chairman of the History Department very kindly granted me departmental Scholarship for two and half years.

Professor Mohammad Habib, who was appointed my Supervisor, confessed that, as in duty bound, he had studied the works of Sir Jadunath Sarkar and Khafi Khan with care, that Khafi Khan's account of Aurangzeb (inspite of his ornate Persian) and a realism which could have only been based on the experience of officers in Charge of affairs, but that an Khafi Khan's account of Aurangzeb (unlike his account of previous reigns) was not based on the authorities he had quoted. Sir Jadunath was well-advised in not referring to Khafi Khan except when necessary as in the case of Murshid Quli Khan's reforms. In 1936 Professor Sri Ram Sharma had published his discovery in the Journal of Royal Asiatic Society to the effect that Khafi Khan's work was really based on M'amuri's History of Aurangzeb without any sort of acknowledgement by Khafi Khan. He has returned to the topic in his Bibliography of the Mughal Empire. Professor Habib

made it clear that unless I brought my translation up to the standard required by the Bengal Asiatic Society, he would pay no attention to my work, but if I fulfilled this condition, he would take up my work, continue it till the reign of Mohammad Shah and arrange for its publication. My translation had to be done twice, as Professor Mohammad Habib found my first translation too literal and, consequently, not sufficiently accurate. Meanwhile the History Department had procured a transcript of Ma'muri's work from Rampur. Rotographs of various other works- in particular Sadiq Khan's Badshah Namah and the combined history of Sadiq Khan and Mamuri - had been obtained by the History Department from England owing to the joint efforts of Professor S.A. Rashid and Professor, Dr. Noorul Hasan.

Professor Habib after examining Sadiq Khan's work asked me to translate those passages of Khafi Khan which appertained to Aurangzeb before his accession as these passages have been taken from Sadiq Khan without acknowledgement, he also asked me to proceed with the translation of Khafi Khan up to the fall of Golkonda as that was proper stopping point, the Deccan Sultanates had come to an end and Aurangzeb was left face to face with the Marathas, whom he failed to overpower. By a logical and historical necessity, the imposition of Jizya on the Hindus by Aurangzeb had led to the imposition of Chauth and Surdeshmukhi on the revenues of the Mughal Empire in various parts of the Deccan as well as some home provinces of the Empire.

Many generations will pass before an other historian covers the reign of Aurangzeb with the same thoroughness and impartiality as Sir Jadunath Sarkar. No work like his has yet been written on medieval India. Nevertheless material on Aurangzeb has been accumulating in almost all Indian languages and it has to be put in its proper place.

Khafi Khan's account of Aurangzeb has gaps as he himself acknowledges, still it is the greatest of our untranslated Persian histories of India and has hitherto been only available in the extracts in Elliot and Dow Son's monumental work which is now hard to obtained.

While I was going on with the work, Professor Mohammad Habib conveyed to me Professor Dr. Noorul Hasan's direction that my real duty was to translate and edit Khafi Khan and not to write a treatise on Aurangzeb. I have, therefore, not attempted what was beyond the scope of my thesis. Nevertheless Khafi Khan taken together with Sadiq Khan, Mazuri, Nimat, Khan-i Ali; Aqil Khan Razi, the Ma'asir-i Alangiri, and the Alangir Namah enable us to find how Aurangzeb's life and work appeared in the eyes of his officers. They all began with the highest praise for their hero, but except in case of Mohammad Kazim, whose writing was controlled and left in complete, their faith in the emperor gave way to disillusion and ultimately to despair.

In the Introduction I have tried to examine carefully and critically all the histories on which Khafi Khan's work is based. I have not devoted any chapters to Isar Dar Nagar's Futuhāt-iʿAlamgiri and Bhim Sen's Nuskha-iDilkusha, partly because Khafi Khan was ignorant of them but primarily because Sir Jadunath Sarkar has commented upon them in his Studies in Aurangzeb.

In the last chapters of the Introduction I have tried to express my own views on Aurangzeb. But this chapter is in a sense provisional. Professor Mohammad Habib, who continues the work, will be entitled to alter it in the form he likes after examining the effect of Aurangzeb's policy on the administration of Mughal empire and the morale of the mansabdars.

In my translation I have tried to be as accurate as possible, keeping in view the traditions of the English as well as Persian language. I have, for example, summarised the long chain of adjectives of which Persian writers are so fond; also sometimes when the Persian sentence was complex, very long or ungrammatical, I have broken it into shorter English sentence.

Lastly in view of the fact that the Persian text of the Muntakhabul Lubab, printed by the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, was based on the collection of several manuscripts, I have not bothered about the variations in the available manuscripts of the Muntakhabul Lubab, but have concentrated my attention on the original works on which it is based.

PART I

HISTORIANS OF AURANGZEB

CHAPTER I

S A D I Q K H A N

The Badshah Namah

This work deserves a careful examination. It is a history of the reign of Shah Jahan in about 410 pages by one of his high officers, who though loyal to Shah Jahan to the extent of ruining his own career, had no illusions about the fact that the administration, and the general prosperity of the contry, had begin to decline.⁽¹⁾

The author was probably a Shia, he praises God, the Prophet and the Companions in his introduction but makes no reference to the Four Pious Caliphs. His references to Mashhad and Hazrat Ali are also of the type that only a Shia would make. Nevertheless we do not find in the book the slightest sectarian fanaticism or hatred. He left the cultivation of that hideous sentiment to Aurangzeb under whom (as we shall see) he had to work for about six years.

-
1. The only complete copy of the work at present known is British Museum, MSS OR 174. In the other two copies surviving (British Museum MSS OR 1671 and the Rampur Manuscript) the last pages have been replaced by Mamuri's work. The author curiously enough gives no name to his book, but his continuator, Mamuri, calls it the Badshah Namah and I have preferred to refer it by this name.

"Let it not be hidden from the minds of persons acquainted with the secrets of history," our author declares, "that this sinner, Mohammad Sadiq; entitled Sadiq Khan, was appointed to the duty of Waza-i Nawis (news-writer) with the stirrup of Shah Jahan, the tenth in descent from Amir Timur, at the time when the Emperor Jahangir sent him on campaign against the Rana (in 1614)...With great brevity and conciseness I will record what I have seen from the accession of Shah Jahan to the beginning of the imprisonment of that just Emperor, which was due to Shahzada Dara Shukoh's lack of wisdom (nadani)."

(f 3b-4a)

In view of the favours shown to him by Shah Jahan, it seems that Sadiq remained loyal to him during his rebellion against Jahangir and Shah Jahan remembered him in the appointments he made at the time of his accession in 1628. "Iradat Khan was appointed Mir Bakhshi and given the pen-case of the wizarat. On the same day the author was appointed to the office of Bakhshigiri."

(8a-8b).

He seems to have retained this office, which entitled his being present at the meetings of the imperial court, for about three years, and he accompanied the Emperor during his Deccan invasion of 1629-31. Leaving the reader to draw his own conclusions, our author describes Shah Jahan's stern orders for the destruction of the Deccan peasantry so that Adil Shah of Bijapur may be brought to his knees. He also tells us that they were terrible

years of famine. In the first year the rainfall was excessive, so that instead of 100 mans only 10 mans could be realised as revenue. Not a drop of rain fell in the second year and the famine was complete. In the third year the peasants were able to grow normal crops after purchasing the seed-grains at a high price, but every thing was eaten up by rats and locusts and no revenue could be realised (32b)...If the author relates with his blistered tongue what he has witnessed with his warning-seeing eyes, it will be painful to the reader and the author will be considered guilty of exaggeration (31a-b). But he is unable to hold back some facts. He tells us for example, that a mace-bearer, Mohammad Ali, told the emperor of a starving woman, who had brought a curious case before a qazi; she had arranged with her neighbours that they would kill and cook her child and call her to share the meal, but after the child had been cooked, they ate it up without informing her (31a-b). It is futile to attempt to see the hand of a Moral Power in the accidents of history. Millions of peasants' home were desolated by the ruthlessness of Shah Jahan's soldiers. But at the same time he had been compelling the wife he loved - the lady of the Taj - to bear more children than her health could stand, and in 1631 she died after giving birth to her fourteenth child. The two phenomana, of course, are unconnected. But Shah Jahan, so cruel to the enemy peasantry, was paralysed by his own loss and postponed the

completion of the Deccan conquest to another occasion. A peasantry driven to starvation and death on the one hand and the Taj Mahal on the other - these were the two opposite facets of Shah Jahan's imperialism. But Sadiq Khan (to do him justice) does not bother about the Taj; he is more concerned with the famine and the peasantry.

When referring to Sadullah Khan's appointment as Darogha of the Ghusl Khana (secretary of the king's council), our author remarked: "The office of the Darogha of the Ghusl Khana is among the high officers of the imperial court." (97b). It was his good fortune to get that office in 1631. "By royal order the author was on the same day appointed Darogha of the Ghusl Khana with gifts of khila'at,
(1)
horse and elephant. (39a)" But he did not hold the office for long. "When Badshahzada Mohammad Shuja was sent to punish some mischief-makers of the subahs of Malwa and Khandesh (in 1633), this humble author was sent from the court in the capacity of ataliq to that high born prince." (53a) Later on Shuja was appointed Viceroy of the Deccan at the request of Mahabat Khan. "The author " Sadiq Khan tells us, "was also appointed and sent in service as ataliq and wagla-i nawis."

-
1. Elsewhere Sadiq Khan explains that Ghusl Khana (literally, bath room) was a room in which the emperor met the great amirs; the name of Ghusl Khana was given to it because it was near Akbar's bath-rooms at Fathpur Sikri. Shah Jahan ordered it to be called the Diwan-i khas, but the term, Ghusl Khana, remained current for a long time. (97b)

During the period he was away from the capital, our author could not record what he had personally seen at the court, though it was a part of his duty to keep in touch with all that was happening. It was, therefore, necessary for him to have some work on which he could rely, or which he could at least use for reviving his memory with reference to dates and the sequence of facts. Curiously enough he makes no reference to the works of Qazwini, Lahori and Waris. But he repeatedly refers to the Iqbal Namah of Azimullah, which he clearly distinguishes from the Iqbal Namah of Mutamid Khan. Azimullah was a nephew of Mukramat Khan, a well-known officer of Shah Jahan, who among other things, was also in charge of his buildings. (1) According to our author, Azimullah wrote his Iqbal Namah at the order of Shah Jahan (132b). The first volume, which was in verse, gave an account of the first twenty years of the reign in 10,000 lines; the second volume, which was in prose, gave an account of the remaining twelve years. At the end of the first volume "it gives the name of Mansabdars, amirs, jagirdars, officers on cash salaries and their contingents, a description of the provinces, the royal jewel-chamber and the imperial treasury." (149a) The Iqbal Namah took the list of officers and their

-
1. Mukramat Khan, according to Lahori, had a grade of 4000 in the tenth and twentieth years of Shah Jahan's reign (Vol. I, p. 720 and Vol. II, pp. 292-328). The Amal-i Salih (Vol. III, p. 351) says that he died in the twenty third year of the reign at Agra after attaining to the rank of 5000 with 5000 horse, of which 3000 were du-aspah and seh-aspah. Azimullah may have been his brother's son or sister's son, the manuscript uses ~~xxx~~ both terms, but one of them must be an error.

grades from Azimullah. But in both the British Museum and the Rampur manuscripts it has survived to us in a ~~re~~ ridiculous form, probably due to the laziness of an early copyist, who saved himself the trouble of searching for correct figures by writing 'grade of seven thousand with seven thousand horsemen' before sixtyfour names and then made the startling statement that "there were six thousand amirs in the grade of six thousand." Our author (Sadiq Khan) in this list is given the grade of six thousand with six thousand horsemen, and, finally (to save trouble) we are told "that number of mansabdars from the grades of five and four thousand to those of two hundred and forty was beyond estimate and (the possibility of) detailed enumeration." Sadiq Khan certainly could not have written this nonsense concerning his fellow-officers. After writing what he has, he could hardly have attributed to Shah Jahan an army the size of which would have doen credit to the Mahabhartta.

The author forgets to tell us how he returned to the court from service under Shuja. But in the fourteenth regnal year (Sept. 18, 1640-41) Raja Jagat Singh, son of Raja Basu of Kangra, rebelled and our author was in the army sent against him. "The author," he tells us, "received two bullets-wounds and was about to drink the goblet of martyrdom from the hands of the saii, but his life had not yet come to an end." (97b) In the next regnal year (Sept. 1641-42) "Rai Mukand Asaf Khani was promoted and put in charge of Buvutat-i Huzur (Imperial palaces) and the service

7

of Daftar-i Tan (office of salaries) vacated by him was given to the author." (102b)

In the seventeenth regnal year (Aug. 1643-4) the Begum Sahiba was burnt and Aurangzeb, who had come to see her, resigned. "At a time when the author was talking to Mukramat Khan, the Darogha of the buildings, about his Majesty's lack of regard for Aurangzeb," Raja Amar Singh slew Salabat Khan with a blow of his jandhar in the royal presence. Amar Singh was killed on the spot by Raja Arjun and the mace-bearers, but his followers outside the court, about 600 in number, were told that they had no concern with the matter and were not involved. The reason for Amar Singh's act were not definitely known, but his followers, though no one had any complaint against them or they against anyone, insisted on fighting to death in the true Rajput fashion. Sadiq Khan was sent along with other mansabdars to fight them.

In the twentieth regnal year (July 1, 646-47) when Murad threw up the command of the army that had conquered Balkh, the emperor summoned both Aurangzeb and Shuja to his presence, and Aurangzeb who reached first was given the command. In the same year Sadiq Khan was reappointed to his old office. "Owing to the transfer of Khidmat Khan Saqi, this humble servant was appointed Darogha of the Ghusl Khana." (145b). When the Persians captured Qandhar, the report of it was brought to him in the first instance. "On the day the river of Attock was

crossed, and before his Majesty had alighted from his boat, a mace-bearer from Qandhar, in great haste and perturbation, reached the house of the author and explained the facts; then he went with the author to Jafar Khan (Mir Bakhshi) and revealed that 'after he had come two stages from Qandhar news had spread that the fort had fallen into the hands of the Shah of Iran.' On the same day letters of the officers and Subedars of the region giving the same were brought by fort messengers." (161a)

In the summer of 1651 our author went with Shah Jahan to Kashmir. The beauty of the country was hardly a compensation for the sufferings of the soldiers, camp followers and the beasts of burden had to undergo. "The army had to suffer great afflictions. Two slaves belonging to the author along with three horses and one camel loaded with the necessities of his life fell down the abyss and disappeared." (170a)

In July, 1652, Aurangzeb was appointed viceroy of the Deccan and had to be provided with a good staff. "Murshid Quli Khan was appointed Diwan of the whole Deccan; Mohammad Safi son of Islam Khan was given the Bakhshiziri of the Deccan; and this author was assigned the office of Wagla-nigar (news-writer) of the four subas of the Deccan." (1) (147b) But Mohammad Safi's work was not satisfactory and his office of Bakhshi seems to have been assigned to

1. Khafi Khan, while copying Sadiq's words simply omits the last sentence. This is a good illustration of how all references to our author have disappeared from the historical literature of the period.

Sadiq Khan as an additional duty. This is clearly implied by the following statement. "When the Shahzada of high destiny was viceroy of the Deccan, the author of these pages visited the parts of the Deccan with him in the capacity of Bakhshiziri." He then proceeds to give us a fairly good account of the christians and their ways.

Owing to the position he occupied, Sadiq Khan gives us some very valuable information about the Deccan. His account of Murshid Quli Khan's reforms was copied with slight changes by Khafi Khan, and the late Sir Jadunath, without knowing about its origin, accepted it as correct in spite of his general suspicion of Khafi Khan. Sadiq Khan's account of Aurangzeb's invasion of Golkonda is also objective and accurate and gives us a good insight into the capacity of his boss for deception and intrigue. The same cannot, however, be said about his account of Aurangzeb's invasion of Bijapur which is full of errors, though Khafi Khan has copied it blindly. The reason for it seems obvious. Shah Jahan, at the request of Dara Shukoh, summoned a number of officers from the Deccan to Agra and Sadiq Khan was certainly among them, for he proceeds to give us an eye-witness account of Dara's preparation for the battle of Samugarh.

According to Mamuri, "Sadiq Khan, author of the Badshah Nama, was sent by Shah Jahan to Dara Shukoh with the message that the imperial tent should be pitched forward (so that he may lead the army in person) but it was of no use." Mamuri also gives

the names of Sadiq Khan, the author of Badshah Namah and his uncle, Mohammad Mir Khan in the list of those who were seriously wounded at Samugarh. Still he was active enough to be of service to his master on the night after the battle.

In the Rampur manuscript as well as in the British Museum manuscript, OR 1671, the last pages of Sadiq Khan's Badshah Namah have been removed, apparently because they would not have been approved by Aurangzeb, and the work of Abul Fazl Mamuri has been tagged on to it without any sort of introduction or even any indication that the work by a new author has begun.⁽¹⁾ However, the last pages of Sadiq Khan have fortunately survived in the British Museum MS OR 174; this account, though very brief, was not available to Sir Jadunath, who relied mostly on Aqil Khan Razi, an officer of Aurangzeb to whom his master was both the perfect Musalman and the perfect man, and who wrote to flatter Aurangzeb.

Sadiq Khan, though brief is brutal and truthful.

"Leaving all the imperial equipment on the battlefield, Dara Shukoh reached Akbarabad in the evening and alighted at his own haveli. Though his Majesty summoned him to his presence, he did not come and offered various apologies. Then his Majesty sent an affectionate message twice through the author;

1. In both these manuscripts the work of Mamuri begins with the words: "when Aurangzeb heard that the army of Dara had blocked his path" (British Museum MSS OR. 1671, 966).

on the first occasion I got an audience (with Dara) but the second time I returned disappointed and explained the circumstances to his Majesty. In short, in the last paher of the night, Dara started for Lahore without meeting his Majesty. Shah Jahan sent some necessary karkhanas and a few well-known amirs with some three thousand soldiers to join him.

"Aurangzeb sent a petition to his Majesty from Rajpura, which is two Karohs from Akbarabad (Agra) on Ramzan 10 (June 1, 1658). (The summary of this petition, as given by Sadiq Khan, merely recounts the main events of the battle of Dharmat and Aurangzeb's justification for his actions).

"Every one of the imperial servants, owing to the lack of regard of the great amirs and officers of the imperial court, forgot his obligation and loyalty to his old master and joined Aurangzeb in the hope of promotion and increase of grade. On seeing this behaviour of Aurangzeb, Shah Jahan was greatly distressed and sent a firman to Aurangzeb through Fazil Khan. (The text of this firman is given by Sadiq Khan; Shah Jahan invited Aurangzeb to come to see him like a loyal son.)"

"When Fazil Khan delivered the emperor's firman along with his verbal message, Aurangzeb heard it with the ear of acceptance, performed the rites of obedience and wrote an arzdasht in reply." (The text of this arzdasht is given by Sadiq Khan; Aurangzeb promised to visit his father and said he was waiting for that fortunate moment.)

"When Shah Jahan got Aurangzeb's arzdasht, he felt very happy and his mind was freed from anxieties. He sent Fazil Khan to Aurangzeb again with an affectionate message and presents. But after the return of Fazil Khan, the mind of Aurangzeb had been changed owing to dishonest mischief-makers, who had put quite a different interpretation on Shah Jahan's desire to see him and he now adopted a different attitude. Fazil Khan returned without attaining his object and revealed the situation as he had seen it. His Majesty was greatly depressed and distressed."

"This time he sent a nishan (or firman) to Aurangzeb with the author and Khalilullah Khan and Fazil Khan, (The text of the firman is given by our author. Shah Jahan appealed to Aurangzeb not to let mischief-makers alienate his mind from his loving father and assured him that all misunderstandings would be removed at a personal interview.) When we reached with the firman, Khalilullah Khan was called to a private audience. He totally misrepresented (the reason) for his Majesty's desire to see Aurangzeb and depicted it in the worst light to that noble prince; he advised him to imprison his Majesty, capture the fort and take possession of the treasures. To keep up outward appearances, (1) Aurangzeb ordered Khalilullah Khan to be arrested."

-
1. Public opinion during the reign of Aurangzeb and later has depicted Khalilullah Khan as one of the arch-traitors to Shah Jahan and to Dara, who had specially promoted him at this juncture. This he certainly was. But Sadiq Khan is our best authority on the matter, and according to him Khalilullah Khan's treason began when he was sent to Aurangzeb. Had he been a traitor on the field of Samugarh, as Bernier and some other writers have stated, Shah Jahan would not have put him in charge of such a delicate mission. The stories about Khalilullah's behaving as a traitor earlier must be given up.

He then told Fazil Khan and this humble servant:

'Owing to certain matters I am not satisfied with his Majesty; something may happen at the time of the meeting or during my return; owing to these doubts my mind is not at peace about his Majesty and it is not possible for this well-wisher to come under any circumstances.'

"On getting this message, his Majesty in design ordered the gates of the fort to be closed.

Aurangzeb moved from his camp, took up his residence in the haveli of Dara Shukoh and ordered his officers to besiege the fort. At this moment persons untrue to their salt adopted the traditions of disloyalty and unable to stand a siege of a day and a half, threw themselves across the ramparts, while some of the officers appealed for peace and came out."

"Distressed by (this desertion of his own officers), Shah Jahan sent Fazil Khan to Aurangzeb for the fourth time. (Sadiq Khan gives us the important paragraphs of this letter. After quoting some oft-repeated mystic verses about the deceptive and transitory character of this world, Shah Jahan admitted that he had ceased to be a king in the world of phenomena (alam-i Surayi) and had become a nominal king, but he drew Aurangzeb's attention to the enormity of his act in overthrowing his father, when according to law of God and His Prophet it was his duty to obey)."

At this moment Sadiq pauses to record his reflection about the behaviour of his fellow-officers." A day there was when all officers from commanders of one hundred to seven thousand and from forty to six thousand, from east to west, were all Shah Jahan's loyal and self-sacrificing servants. From morning to evening they waited for his orders with folded hands; in fact they were not so afraid of God as of him; for whenever they closed their eyes or ventured to raise their eyes towards him, for they saw death (in case of emperor's wrath) visibly before their eyes. And while waiting for his orders, they kept their eyes, ears, and hearts open like a mother-of-pearl, anxious as to what the future would bring for them. And now a day has come when nobody cares to help him or to inquire about him. Those who declared themselves his loyal friends and self-sacrificing servants have in the twinkling of an eye, like a comet, taken to mischievous ways in spite of their white beards and loyal antecedents; they have taken away such a Shahzada from the correct path and made him hostile to such a just emperor; they have brought had reputation to the former and helplessness to the latter."

(204a)

In due course Fazil Khan returned with Aurangzeb's
(1)
reply. Sadiq Khan has given us the complete text.

-
1. Neither of the two authors hitherto available — Saleh Kamboh and Aqil Khan Razi — were in the fort. Sadiq alone gives us the complete text of the letters of both parties; that is, perhaps, one reason why the last pages of his book disappeared.

Written in that florid pseudo-mystic language the words of which meant nothing to that age, and in particular to Aurangzeb, Shah Jahan was requested to reconcile himself to his fate and to obey the following polite order of his son: "If owing to your unlimited favours, the gates of the fort and all entrances and exits are placed in charge of the officers of this disciple, the suspicions in his mind will be removed; he will then try to make amends for his shortcomings, come to pay his respects to your Majesty, bow his head in obedience to your orders and turn away immediately from acts that are vexatious and insulting to your Majesty." It was a lying promise of the type Aurangzeb had already made to Murad, though in this case, he did not resort to oaths on the Quran. Still Shah Jahan had no alternative but to obey.

"As it was ordained (by Divine destiny) that changing fortune would leave his august Majesty in spite of his good and merciful acts and put its reins into the hands of another, and that he would be deprived of all the joys of this world and of the privilege of helping the people, on the receipt of Aurangzeb's arzdasht he handed over the whole fort to the servants of the young Shahzada. The officers of the Shahzada, having obtained control of the exits and entrances of the fort, ordered the men of the emperor not to come in or go out. Four astronomical hours after the receipt of Aurangzeb's arzdasht (by Shah Jahan), Shahzada Mohammad Sultan

unable to get drinking water from the Jumna, but because he was ordered by Aurangzeb to do so. The Agra fort is in the technical language of the middle ages a koshak (royal residence) and not a qila (fort); it was not designed for military purposes. Shah Jahan closed the gates for a day and a night, but this did not prevent his officers from quitting the fort to show their loyalty to Aurangzeb. Secondly, the theory propounded by some historians that Shah Jahan passed his last years in religious devotions in some sort of comfort must be given up as incited by the desire to flatter Aurangzeb. So long as Shah Jahan was alive, there was an alternative to Aurangzeb as emperor; so Aurangzeb kept him 'a prisoner in custody' in the same way as Murad. He was surrounded by spies both in the harem and outside; he was denied writing material and made to feel that he was under stern control. So warned by the fate of his three sons, Shah Jahan refrained from driving matters to a crisis. He himself would not have hesitated in putting Jahangir to death, if by so doing he could have obtained the throne; Aurangzeb was certainly not better than his father. And both were quite capable of convincing themselves that they had done a great service to God and to Islam by killing their fathers in the same way as they had killed their brothers and nephews. Such murders were made inevitable by the type of monarchy the mussalmans had developed.

Mamuri tells us that Aurangzeb, as was inevitable, dismissed Sadiq Khan from the post of Waqā-i Nawis (news-writer) of Akbarabad (Agra) and summoned him to the court (100b). But we do not know what punishment, if any, was meted out to him. He was certainly well-connected. Mamuri tells us that Jafar Khan, the future vazir of Aurangzeb, was his uncle (100b). Sadiq Khan in the course of his work refers to three other uncles - Mir Khan (17a), Haqiqat Khan (32a-b), and Baqi Khan (157a). It is possible to get confirmatory evidence about all of them. The Amal-i-Saleh (Vol. II, p. 290) confirms our author's statement that Mir Khan was Mir-i Tuzak and was appointed host-officer to Yadgar Beg, the ambassador of Iran. Haqiqat Khan is put by Lahori (Vol. II, p. 727) in the grade of 2000/300. The Amal-i Saleh says that he was the diwan of Jahan Ara Begum and retired in the twenty-eighth regnal year (Vol. III, p. 111); he was the commandant of the Agra Fort from seventeenth to the twenty-fourth year, but not subedar of Agra as our author has stated. The influence of Jafar Khan may have sufficed to protect our author, for he certainly survived to write his book.

The last reference of Mamuri to our author appertains to the year 1686 during the siege of Bijapur. Though the Prophet of Islam has sternly prohibited the use of torture, Aurangzeb had no hesitation in using torture to extract the false evidence he wanted. So getting suspicious of his eldest surviving son, Muazzam, he ordered an officer of Muazzam Shah, Quli Itij Khani; to be tortured.

Unable to stand the pain to which he was subjected, Irij gave the names of four fellow-conspirators, one of whom (according to Mamuri) was "Mohammad Sadiq, the author of Badshah Nama)." It is difficult to see how Sadiq Khan, who had begin his service-career in 1614 could have been capable of doing any work seventy-two years afterwards. But Mamuri's slip of the pen is probably due to the fact that Sadiq Khan had been in the sergice of Muazzam some time.

But while references to Sadiq Khan's uncles are easy to discover, no reference to Sadiq Khan himself is to be found in the official histories of Shah Jahan - Qazwini, Lahori and Waris. He says he occupied certain posts - e.g. that he was the ataliq of Shuja. In the three official histories, as they have survived to us, the name of the occupants of these posts are omitted. Also the Amal-i Saleh and Aqil Khan both refrain from mentioning him as one of the three persons sent by Shah Jahan to Aurangzeb; they only refer to Fazil Khan and Khalil-ullah Khan. Now Fazil Khan (formerly Abul Mulk Tuni) made his peace with Aurangzeb by handing over Dara's treasures to him, but Sadiq Khan never got into Aurangzeb's good books. They had worked together for about six years' and had no illusions about each other. Since Sadiq Khan gives us the information which only an officer occupying his posts could have given, it is impossible to dismiss his book as the fabrication of a later day nonentity. So unless a

better explanation is forthcoming, we have to assume that Sadiq Khan's name was removed from the official histories, leaving a visible gap, because Aurangzeb did not wish his name to be preserved. It has to be remembered in this context that Fazil Khan had been used by Shah Jahan as his censor for his official histories.

Taken all in all, Sadiq Khan's Badshah Namah is the best - i.e. the most honest and accurate — history of Shah Jahan's reign that has survived to us. It is the work of an officer of the empire written not for the eyes of the emperor but for the eyes of posterity. It is difficult to say (1) when the book was written. Many passages of it must have been written contemporaneously with the events they describe; they could not have been so graphic had they been written years afterwards. Nevertheless apart from the copyist's errors, the book was prepared for publication and the Persian text can be prepared for the press on the basis of one manuscript only.

Unlike Badauni, Sadiq Khan is not inspired by personal hostility to anybody. Nothing is said in praise of the Shahzadas, Aurangzeb and Shuja but they are referred to with respect. On the other hand, though loyal to the emperor and the imperial system, Sadiq Khan seems to have had no desire to

1. British Museum OR 1671 is a modern copy. A note at the end says: 'The writing of the book was finished in 23 days with the help of God in the city of Banaras in the 1224th year of the Prophet's Hijra (1809 A.D.)' The fact that the work should have survived at Banaras is significant.

flatter anybody. Any one who reads him, will be convinced of the futility of the Balkh-Badakhshan campaign and of Aurangzeb's incapacity to provide for the food and minimum comforts of his soldiers - an incapacity which, according to all authorities was to cost India so dear during Aurangzeb's Deccan campaign. He has no hesitation in pointing out the absurdity, and the cost in men, money, and cattle, of the three Qandhar campaigns. In brief but effective sentences he tells us of the wholesale destruction of the Deccan peasantry at Shah Jahan's orders.

Only one example of our author's general viewpoint can be given in the space at my disposal. Thanks to our caste-system and the large number of non-caste groups, India, as compared to the Muslim countries in its neighbourhood, had a higher standard of living for its upper governing-class groups (amirs and sehs) while the standard of living for its workers and peasants was very much lower. The official historians of Shah Jahan, faced with the complete failure of his policy in central Asia and Southern Afghanistan tried to console him and their readers by comparing the total or gross annual income of the three countries - 2½ crores of Iran as against 20 to 25 crores of India while the total revenue of Turan, we are told, was less than the income of some of the highest mansabdars of India. This sort of reasoning is fallacious, for it only proves that India was a more populous country and

that its population, specially its peasantry, was more thoroughly exploited. In order to be fair, they should have compared per capita income or per capita contribution to the revenues of the state. It would have been then seen that the peasant in Persia was very much better off than the Indian peasants. The fact that a few mansabdars had enormous incomes (though not comparable at all with the incomes of the Indian Princes during the British period) could be no consolation to any sensible Indian.

It was Sadik Khan's duty, when he was a news-writer, to inquire into the behaviour of government officers and his opinion on the matter is worth considering. It explodes the myth that the Mughal Empire attained to its highest prosperity in the reign of Shah Jahan. "The revenues of Iran are fixed, but in the extensive empire of Hindustan, owing to calamities from the sky, the trouble caused by the rebellious zamindars and the tyranny of cruel officers, the revenue falls from tacs to thousands and thousands to hundreds in a single year. Mulks (territories) yielding a karore have been totally desolated and removed from the revenue accounts. And every day this ruination and desolation increases and to make up for it they take bribes and rent (ijara) from the cultivators (raiyat) by whatever means - force or plunder they can find. Although in the reign of Shah Jahan the king himself as well as his wazirs - in particular Islam Khan, Asaf Khan and above all Sadullah Khan (may

his end be blessed) - investigated and inquired into all malpractices and came to the help of the cultivators, nevertheless, the country that was prosperous under Jahangir seems more desolate to the eyes." (11a)

It may be safely assumed that Sadiq Khan's work was planned as a corrective to the flattering official histories of the period, though he never refers to them. He starts with the statement that he will record what he has seen. But inevitably he has had to broaden the scope of his work. We find him referring sometimes to what the mace-bearers had said to the emperor in his presence; as the Darogha of the Ghusal Khana a lot of official papers must have passed through his hands and he must have learnt a good deal from his fellow-officers about their administrative work and their campaigns. Also as Waza-i Navis he must have discovered a good deal of the shady side of the official machine, which he makes no attempt to hide. His official work must have taught him to write Persian in a style that was both expressive and intelligible, and he adopted that style for his Badshah Namah. He makes no attempt to imitate Abul Fazl or anyone else. His style is his own - and it effectively expresses his ideas.

...

CHAPTER II

ABUL FAZL MANURI

(History of Alamgir - continuation of Sadiq Khan's
"Badshah Namah")

The author gives no name to his book; so we may call it Tarikh-i Alamgiri (History of Alamgir) for the sake of convenience and cataloguing. In both the copies within my reach, ⁽¹⁾ the beginning of the book, if it was ever written, has been removed, and the work starts from about the commencement of Shawwal, 1068 A.H. (July, 1658 A.D.) when Aurangzeb began to prepare for his march to northern India against his father and elder brother. Not only the cataloguers of the great libraries but even the katibs (copyists) of the book seemed to have thought that they were only concerned with the work of Sadiq Khan. Thus, the British Museum manuscript (OR 1671) ends with the following curious note: "This History of the emperors Shah Jahan and

-
1. The copies within my reach are a transcript of the Rampur manuscript; which was examined by Professor Sri Ram Sharma (Principal, Sholapur College). whose opinions are given at length in Chapter VIII and a rotograph of the British Museum MS OR 1671. The copyist of the Aligarh transcript did not take the trouble of comparing it with the original, but I have referred to it occasionally as the British Museum MSS written in a fine (though legible) handwriting, is a torture for the eyes.

Aurangzeb from among the works of Mohammad Sadiq, entitled Sadiq Khan; who held the mansab of six thousand, was finished on the 24th Ramazan, 1244 A.H. (April 9, 1829) in the handwriting of Dayal Singh, Ganga Prasad, Chandaaj Rai, Sukh Ram Singh, and Gobind Narain of the community of Brahmans. (200a)

Now Sadiq Khan, as we have seen had brought his work to an end with the imprisonment of Shah Jahan on the ground that proceeding with it further would be 'insalant and treason to his salt. '

Abul Fazl Mamuri gives his name only once in the course of his work but he refers to himself repeatedly and also refers to the Badshah Namah of Sadiq Khan and to Sadiq Khan himself. Our author seems to have started his career as a junior mansabdar but ultimately rose to be the admiral (amirul Bahr) of the empire. His work brought him into close contact with Aurangzeb; he refers to the emperor with respect but he has no hesitation in deploring the policy of the Emperor, which ruined both the empire and its mansabdars.

It is not difficult to collect together what the author has said about himself. When describing the burial of music, the whole of which has been copied word by word by Khafi Khan, our author says, "One day the author had gone to Aminuddoulah, the Mustaafi, in order to get his signatures; I started for home and saw that there was a crowd of people in the lanes and in the streets and a great tumult

(1)
 had arisen." This was in the eleventh year of the reign (Feb. 14, 1668-69). When Aurangzeb started from Burhanpur for Daulatabad, our author wrote, "The author was appointed Waqai-nawis (news writer) of Burhanpur in addition to his work as 'Mir-i Saman' " (Sept. 14, 1681-2). He was apparently the Mir-i Saman of Burhanpur and not of the whole empire. Our author went to the camp of Shahzada Azam when he was besieging Bijapur and (1683-84) and observed its desperate condition: "The author went to the camp of Shahzada Azam in order to convey some necessary messages. One day I was invited to the tent of Bahramand Khan, the Bakhshi of Shahzada Azam's army. It appeared from the reports that three thousand men and women had died from the plague in addition to those who had perished ~~for~~ from starvation and whose relatives were grateful for the fact that they would not suffer from the pangs of hunger any more. The people suffered from hunger for three months during which an asar (seer) of flour could with difficulty be found for seventeen rupees." (164a) In the twenty-seventh year of the reign (1683-4) our author remarks, "The author was transferred from the Department of the Darogha-i Bayutat, which he had served for thirty

-
1. Khafi Khan while copying the rest of Mamuri's account of the burial of music, omits these words. It was his policy when copying Sadiq Khan and Mamuri, even word by word, to omit all references of these authors to themselves, so that he may be able to appropriate their works. The matter has been discussed in Chapter VIII.

years and honoured with appointment as Admiral (Mir-i Bahr).²⁰ If this statement is correct and it seems to be, our author must have been in service of the Department of the Darogha-i Buyutat from the reign of Shah Jahan.

Mamuri's work hereafter shows a technical knowledge of naval affairs, but his duty apparently was to get the emperor's orders on papers appertaining to boats, ships and the european settlers and their misdeeds. His remark on Aurangzeb's order with reference to Saidi Yaqut's attack on Bombay shows that he did not always see eye to eye with the emperor. We find him in the court with access to Aurangzeb during "the years of the sieges (1699-1705)" He says that he had gone to the emperor to get his signatures on the pay-orders (afrad) appertaining to the buyutat and his daily account book (ruz-nama)²¹ When Mohammad Murad captured a hillock during the siege of Panhala in 1701, but was not supported by the imperial officers. Later on when Paras Ram (or Parushuram), the qiladar of Rewni (Khelna) wanted a price for his fort which Aurangzeb was unwilling to pay. "Ruhullah Khan, Fazl Ali Khan, the Buyutat-nawis and the author were repeatedly sent into the fort as intermediaries to settle the demand, but it was of no use." (202-a,b) Paras Ram would not relax his demands and Shahzada Bidar Bakht and the amirs had to pay him secretly what he wanted over and above what the emperor had sanctioned.

We have now to examine the character of Mamuri's work. His description of the War of Succession is brief, but after referring to the Alamgir Namah and the Lataiful Qasus for details, he gives what he has heard about the Assam campaign of Mir Jumla from three of his highest officers - Dilir Khan, Aghar Khan, and Yusuf Khan. He has recorded their observations on Assamese life, religion, burial of the dead etc. (124a) These observations have been copied literally by Khafi Khan; but Sir Jadunath and others have paid no attention to them because they did not trust Khafi Khan. Still Assamese society as painted by Mamuri was a casteless society, which believed in one supreme God, Narayan equivalent to the Muslim Allah, but being of Mongolian origin, they still preserved the methods of burying their dead chiefs underground chambers like the changezi Mongols and even the Huns of Attila. Both Sir Jadunath and Dr. J.N.Sarkar praise Mir Jumla for his attempt to secure justice and peace for the conquered people while he insisted on destroying their places of worship. But Mamuri leaves us in no doubt that the Mughal officers were driven away, first out of Kuch Bihar and later out of Assam, owing to a popular movement which had been called into existence by their corruption and oppression. Mamuri's account of the Assam campaign is weak in geography, but it gives us the 'atmosphere' and the human element with reference to both sides.- It has to be added that Mamuri's account of the

struggle between Mir Jumla and Shuja, though suffering from more geographical confusion, has the same merit and demerits as his account of the Assam campaign. The officer's from whom Mamuri drew his information must have talked to him about their past experiences when dining together or riding out on their campaigns. Mamuri would remember the broad facts; perhaps he heard the same story from the same officer many times over, but having taken no notes he would forget the geographical references.

Like most historians of the Mughal period, Mamuri divides his book according to regnal years. After his reference to Aurangzeb's second coronation we come across the following confused but significant remark: "Let it be no secret that accounts have been written by this sinful servant, Abul Fazl Mamuri Mohammad Amin Sistani, Zainul Abidin Khwafi, Mohammad Jafar Munshi of the Daftar Khana of the emperor from the time when Aurangzeb was a Shahzada till the twenty third year of the reign. Zainul Abidin (has written) from the beginning of Aurangzeb's march from Bijapur during the tumult and disorder of the rulers of the provinces till the tenth year of the reign after which writing about the events of the empire was prohibited. Mohammad Amin Khan and Mohammad Saqi Khush-Nawis (calligraphist) have written from the beginning of Aurangzeb's reign till the end of Dara and Mohammad Shuja and the death of Shah Jahan. If I begin by narrating the virtues of the emperor from the very beginning, it

will be impossible for me to be brief. Any one who wants to know more details will find them in the histories of Zainul Abidin, Mohammad Jafar and Munshi Kazim." (109a)

We know nothing of the work of Mohammad Jafar, but in spite of the curious structure of the first sentence, Mamuri leaves us in no doubt that the works of all other writers had come to an end by the tenth year of the reign, while he had continued his work till the twenty-third regnal year. It is obvious also that this paragraph was penned in the twenty-third regnal year, though his long life permitted him to bring his work to the death of Aurangzeb. Mamuri must have enjoyed a long working life of more than forty-five years.

As I have tried to explain elsewhere, Khafi Khan must have been very young when Aurangzeb issued his order prohibiting the writing of history. The text of his firman - if there ever was a firman about the matter - has not survived; so we can only try to guess Aurangzeb's intentions. He certainly brought the regime of official histories, each for one decade, which Shah Jahan had started to a close. It may also be assumed that he disapproved the writing of the history of his reign by his mansabdars from their own points of view, when the emperor's view-point had ceased to be officially published. Still Aurangzeb could not have been such a fool as to imagine that he could make his reign a complete blank in the history of India. His orders - like

the Jazia Ordinance - had to be published in order to be obeyed. The proceedings of his Durbar-i 'Am were public and clerks in charge conveyed his decisions to the provincial archives and the capitals of the great rajas. From the surviving Akhbarat and other material, the late Sir Jadunath Sarkar has given us a more detailed account of the reign of Aurangzeb than we possess for any other Indian king. Still it can not be denied that Aurangzeb's officers were afraid of writing about the history of his reign. Aqil Khan Hazi and Nimat Khan-i Ali have not put their names to the works attributed to them. Mamuri, the greatest sinner in this respect, has put his name in his book only once.

But there seems to have been no lack of books for the first ten years of the reign. In another passage, describing Shaista Khan's march against Shivaji and the Maratha attack on Shaista Khan at Poona, our author begins with the remark: " Since Mirza Saqi has described the first ten years of the reigning king in detail, this servant of necessity has not described certain events in detail and has aspired to be brief. Whoever wants detailed information about these ten years should study the Lataiful Ahwal dar Tarikh-i Alamgiri (Good events during the Reign of Alamgir) and the Qasus (stories, events of Mirza Saqi. I am only penning what I have heard from my father, who was with Amirul Umara Shaista Khan in this campagin." (130b) This passage literally copied by Khafi Khan (even to the extent

of claiming Mamuri's father for himself) has become an integral part of Indian history. It has to be added that Mamuri's father, and presumably the Mughal government, never suspected that Shivaji himself led the attack on Shaista Khan. But this claim is made by Sir Jadunath and Sardesai on the basis of Maratha records and is presumably correct.

Sir Jadunath on the basis of the Jaipur Akhbarat has succeeded in reconstructing the whole history of Aurangzeb. But Aurangzeb's prohibition of history created a great difficulty for his officers, who wished to leave a written record of his reign. They could base their accounts on what they saw and on what they heard from their fellow-officers; they could also use the official papers that normally passed through their hands, and Mamuri sometimes did so. But they could not go to the officers who were in charge of State-papers either at the centre or the provincial capitals and ask for the privileges given in our archives to bona fide students of history. The greatest difficulty was about the second decade of the reign. If, as I have assumed, Mamuri began writing his book in the twenty-third year of the reign, he had to depend entirely on his memory. This he frankly confesses. "Although after the passage of the first decade of the reign of the Emperor Alamgir, I have not been able to find the events of his reign with reference to months and dates, as is necessary, still I will record some events of the court, which I have seen personally and of

the provinces, which I have heard from reliable witnesses, briefly and without reference to years — and also only a fraction of the total — till the nineteenth regnal year. After the nineteenth regnal year all events will be related year by year." (140a)

It is inevitable that our author reconstructing facts from memory should make errors. Mamuri's greatest error is that he takes Shivaji from Agra to Abdullah Qutb Shah and makes him reconquer the forts he had handed over to Aurangzeb with Qutb Shah's help. As a matter of fact Shivaji did not come to Golkonda till the reign of Abul Hasan, whom our author calls by his well-known designation of 'Tana-Shah,' and he took Abul Hasan's help for the conquest of Bijapuri carnatic. The facts are too well known to require a detailed discussion. Mamuri swallowed the story of a Surat vaid that Shivaji had given him a handful of costly jewels at Banaras and this story is repeated by Khafi Khan who also seems to have seen the vaid personally. Mamuri's greatest omission during this period in his failure to record Dilir Khan's murderous career in the Deccan. Both Mamuri and Khafi Khan gives a wrong date to the Satnami revolt. Lastly, owing to our author's admiration for his friend, Aghar Khan, and the false guidance given to him by the Aghar Namah the whole Frontier Problem is put in a false perspective.

In the course of his work Mamuri refers to many mansabdars whom he knew personally. He was probably on intimate terms with Abdur Razzaq Lari alias Mustafa Khan, the hero of Golkonda. He was also on friendly terms with Mirza Mohammad Murad Sa'adat Khan, son of Murshid Quli Khan, who had been Aurangzeb's ambassador at Golkonda. "Since the author of these pages had worked as news-writer with Mohammad Murad for a long time, I was intimately acquainted with his character and ways."

(170a) Now Murad fell into the bad books of Aurangzeb because he had not informed the emperor of the money sent by Abul Hasan to Sambhaji to prevent the worsening of Aurangzeb's relations with Abul Hasan and some other matters. On the other hand, Mohammad Murad had trays of jewels, estimated at 50 lacs, which Abul Hasan had deposited with him and which under the false pretext that he had sent them to the emperor, he had refused to return. Murad wanted to deposit these trays in the Jewel Treasury, but the officers-in-Charge refused to accept them without an order to do so. Murad's clever friends advised him to substitute cheap jewels for costly jewels, but he said he was determined to be honest and succeeded both in getting the jewel trays accepted by the Treasury and in winning the goodwill of Aurangzeb again. This fact provoked our author to two reflections.

"Although most accountants of this time and persons with frustrated ambitions -- and truth is on their side -- do not consider any one to be

honest, and consider fair dealing and the safe-keeping (of property) entrusted to one to be a nonsensical act, nevertheless, it is visible and clear to wise and well-guided men that honesty (amanat) is the most commendable virtue for them under the sun. The blessings of honour, dignity, good reputation, promotion, permanence of wealth, and high status, a happy end to ones life and the welfare of one's descendants and salvation in both the worlds are dependent upon honesty and refraining from injuring people, which are instructions from God Almighty. But the object of this honesty should be merely to please God and to refrain from injuring mankind. But (in practice) to secure their own welfare and promotion, they (Government officers) put people unhesitatingly to the sword and are not afraid of the questions (they will be asked) on the Day of Judgment." (179a-b)

But are all government officers dishonest? Mamuri says he can not give a complete list of honest officers, but proceeds to give the list of some distinguished officers about "whose condition the author of these pages knows personally - Aqil Khan Khwafi Amanat Khan, Mirza Yar Ali, Qazi Shaikhul Islam son of Qazi Abdul Wahhab, Mohammad Yar Khan Grandson of Asaf Khan, etc." A list of seventeen names is followed by the remark, "There are plenty of other honest officers." (179-180) But the highest officers of the government are not included in the list.

Since all passages of Khafi Khan have been compared with the corresponding passages of Mamuri (where possible) upto the conquest of Golkonda, it is only necessary to note what he tells us about the most important problems of the remaining years of the reign. Apart from the ruthless plunder of the innocent peasantry, which the Mughals had started from the benign reign of Shah Jahan and which grew worse under the Marathas, the chief features of the period, 1688-1707 were - (a) the collapse of the Mansabdari system; (b) Aurangzeb's incompetence as a strategist and his failure to provide for the minimum needs of his men during his campaigns; (c) the growth of the Maratha power.

Mamuri was loyal to the emperor and the empire, but he was equally loyal to truth and justice. His opinions on all the three questions are worth considering.

(a) Under the twenty-seventh regnal year our author writes:

" Let it be known to wise and intelligent persons that from the beginning of the bandobast (organisation) the emperor gave hereditary khanazades and new entrants a grade or increase of grade according to their deserts. The honour and mansab of the imperial servants was stable till the year of Aurangzeb's coming to Ahmadnagar, and they lived happily on their provincial jagirs or cash salaries, Every care was taken in recruiting Rajputs and Afghans; the Kashmiris, and in particular, the

Chaks, were seldom given a mansab."

"But afterwards, in order to win over the Deccanics, every person from among the groups in the service of Sambha, Bijapur, and Haiderabad, who came to the imperial side and was presented to the emperor by one of the high officers of the court, was, owing to the requirements of the time, given a higher mansab than he had expected along with elephants, horses, a khilat and a title. Although in order to please them, high mansabs were given to them and their salaries were decided in three or four months, still they were given salaries from the revenues of the Deccan and the emperor avoided giving them Jagirs. But ultimately with the passage of time matters came to such a pass that the whole country went in salaries to the newly recruited officers of the Deccan. The vakils (agents) of the Deccani officers by resorting to bribes seized the most productive mahals for themselves. Visibly the high grades and number of new mansabdars without name or status kept on increasing while day by day the dignity of the old mansabdars decreased.

(1)

"Khuld Makani (Aurangzeb), owing to his appreciation of them, inquired about the circumstances and income of all Khanazad officers, who were personally known to him and belonged to reliable families; nevertheless owing to the large number

-
1. The use of this title for Aurangzeb indicates that the emperor was dead when this passage was written. Compare Khafi Khan, Vol. II, pp. 398-7.

of mansabdars without reputation or status, who had neither a patron nor the means of equipping themselves, the area of (available) jagirs was so greatly reduced that the (mansabdari) world was left without jagirs, and unassigned jagirs totally disappeared. Thus the emperor himself, when signing the register of applicants for salaries, (often) remarked, 'There is one pomegranate and a hundred patients (in need of it).' Finally, means had to be provided for (equipping) armies and for officers appointed to responsible duties, while the account books showed that no assignable jagirs were left; so it became necessary to transfer jagirs in payment of salaries to others. His Majesty called for the account books of the parganas and cancelled a large number of jagirs with his own pen. Owing to this the wailings of helpless mansabdars without any means was added to other miseries."

Under the thirty-fifth regnal year Mamuri adds: "The emperor gave another order to this effect. After the yad-dashts (appointment-orders) of the mansabs of the emperor's servants have been prepared, they used to remain with the mansabdars and (a copy) with the Bakhshis. Now the office of Chehra, which was a separate institution, was to make a note on these yad-dashts."

"In the past after the examination of the accounts of the jagirs, government money was often found due from the jagirdars. So collectors were

appointed to demand the money due, and the mansabdars after spending a lot of money managed to get their accounts settled. Later on, owing to the appointment of innumerable Deccanis and Marathas to the highest officers, the Khanzad officers of the court (were unable to get any jagirs owing to scarcity of unassigned lands. After Musawi Khan had been appointed Diwan-i Tan (officer for salaries), they took a mushaleka (agreement) that the salary due to them for the time between the preparation of their yad-dasht and the assignment of their jagirs would be taken in settlement of accounts. As an alternative to this novelty (bidat) of Musawi Khan, which got him a bad reputation in all conversations, the emperor settled that, in opposition to past procedure which gave an officer command of troops as soon as he got his appointment-order, in future no newly appointed officer would be assigned to any duty till he had been given his jagir, but he could take up a duty on his own initiative.

"In spite of the promise not to demand any salary at the beginning of his service, a large sum was (now) found due to the mansabdars from the government at the settlement of accounts. Consequently, however, much the mansabdars may desire their accounts to be settled, the mustanfis (accounts officers) would avoid hearing their requests and would not condescend to examine their accounts.

"In case a mansabdar by his personal efforts, the influence of his patron and the assistance of

a devoted and able agent (vakil) recceeded in proving the amount of salary which was due to him after running about for seven or eight months and spending an enormous amount of money, he would be able to get a fourth part of his salary after a persistent demand from the government."

"Ultimately all rules gradually disappeared."

(b) Aurangzeb's complete lack of the qualities needed by a great general will be discussed later. But one basic question has to be asked about every military commander - Did he arrange to provide his soldiers with the minimum needs of life, or did he allow them to perish without being able to do any thing about the matter? The following passage from Mamuri is significant and many similar passages will be found in Khafi Khan.

"To be short, on the 10th Zil Hijjah, the world was straitend for the garrison (of Parli) owing to the attacks of the besiegers. But life was also straitened for the imperial army owing to the continuous fall of rain during the days and nights, for in that region rainfall does not cease for a x single hour for six months, and because no grain or fodder could reach them owing to the flooded streams and the attacks of the Marathas who had spread round the army like ants and locusts. Grain and gross had become so scarce that no living creature had the power to move. (However the garrison of Parli surrendered on conditions and the imperial army had to march back). There were absolutely no beasts

of burden left either for the imperial Karkhanas or for the rich or the poor. No camel had survived, for the continuous rain of the territory and its climate does not suit camels. Bullocks, camels, donkeys and other beasts of burden had died owing to the continuous rain of three months, and those who had survived had nothing left except their skins and bones. The same calamity had overtaken the elephants also. They put as much of the baggage of the imperial government and of the amirs as they could on the weak elephants, half-dead bullocks, and labourers and beggars from the poor houses; the rest was assigned to the qiladar (of Parli) and part was burnt. Thus their burden was made light. The distressed soldiers without any means now started as nomads with the earth for the floor of their houses. Nevertheless many elephants and bullocks, whose life was a burden to them, fell down on the passes on account of the burden on their backs and gave up their dear lives. With great difficulty they reached the banks of the river Krishna, which was at a distance of five karohs at the end of the third day's march.

"There was no means of crossing the river except seven broken boats, which had been repaired. So the army was directed to stop. When the crossing of the river began, mace-bearers were appointed so that the strong may not tyrannise over the weak and one Shahzada with the amirs may cross every day. Nevertheless there was so much tumult and resort

to the use of the sword on the river-bank that not a day passed on which two or three persons were not wounded, killed or drowned. The Turks and other Mughals as well as the Deccanis captured the boats without permission with the blows of their sword, and after crossing the river they used the boats as their bagger's bowls or cups for obtaining an honest livelihood by charging, in cooperation with the boatmen, one ashrafi, instead of one rupees (asfare); thus they earned a lot of money while many persons were unable to cross the river. Poor people, who had neither money nor force at their disposal were drowned in the sea of thought and remained by the river-bank. (verses). Many persons, who were sick of their existence, gave up all thoughts of their lives and their properties, and jumped into the river in the hope of swimming to the other side with the strength of their arms. But hardly one out of ten succeeded in reaching the other bank in safety while the rest were drowned. By the middle of Safar of the same year they reached a fort where it was possible to encamp for a few days and the army was ordered to stay there for a month. And rainfall, which had pursued them till now, also departed." (197a)

(c) What could soldiers having to fight under such terrible conditions achieve? Aurangzeb was incapable of these rapid marches, which had enabled Malik Kafur to plunder the Deccan and southern India, nor could he provide horses, fodder, grain etc. for his soldiers as Alauddin Khilji's minister of war, Khwaja Haji, had done. The failure of his Deccan campaigns brought the Marathas to the north. The result is briefly summed up by Mamuri. "Although

the emperor came to the Deccan, strove to suppress (Marathas) rebels of the region, and after the expenditure of several karores of rupees as well as great efforts and endeavours brought all the forts of the enemy into his hands, yet owing to the treason (nifag) of the amirs and the circumstances of the time, the insolence of these wretches and their incursions into the territories of the old empire increased, and several defeats were inflicted on the amirs with the royal stirrups and in the provinces which are impossible to describe." (155a)

It was fortunate for Aurangzeb that Shivaji left no able successors. Sambhaji was always faced with conspiracies and lost the goodwill of the Marathas owing to the several punishments he inflicted. Ramraja had neither initiative nor energy. But a new art of war, called the robber's war (jung-i-qazzagi) by the Persian historians had been developing in the Deccan, and it completely paralysed Aurangzeb and his slow moving armies. After some eight years of futile marches, he fixed his headquarters for four years at Islampuri (1695-99), while the country around was plundered by leaders of Marathas bands, who got their appointments from Ramraja. "After the capture and execution of Sambha, many Maratha generals of reputation spread out on behalf of Ramraja to pillage and plunder the old and new provinces of the empire. They publicly raised their banners all round the imperial camp, began to show remarkable insolence, and with plunder as their object, undertook rapacious enterprises which

I will not describe in detail. But briefly I will admit that a great disaster overtook the imperial officers owing to Santa Ghorepare Bhosla and Dhana Jadhaw, who were the famous officers of Ramraja and were in actual command of fifteen thousand horsemen and forty thousand footmen, while other Maratha leaders with their armies cooperated with them and obeyed them.

"In particular, Santa showed a capacity for plundering and desolating famous cities and fighting the highest imperial officers, which it is impossible to describe. It was reputed that any one who opposed him would either be killed or wounded and captured or, after suffering a defeat he would have no alternative but to save his own life (by running away and) leaving his soldiers and baggage to be plundered by the enemy. Whenever Santa marched in any direction, none of the great imperial officer would gird up their loins to oppose him. Some hundred thousand horsemen and fifty thousand footmen had collected round him and the earth shook whenever he turned in any direction with this world-desolating army. Thus he drove back Ismail Khan, who was supposed to be one of the valient men of the Deccan, in the first attack and plundered his whole army; Ismail Khan was wounded and captured, and Santa kept him for some months and then set him free after receiving a ransom of two lacs. Similarly Rustam Khan Dakhini alias Sharza Khan, who considered himself

the Rustam of the age, faced Santa in the carnatic; after losing everything he had, he fell into Santa's hands and only regained his freedom by paying in ransom all that he possessed. In the same way Ali Murdan Khan alias Hasan Beg Haiderabadi (and his officers) offered battle to Santa; after the great efforts made by them, the soldiers and the baggage were plundered, while Ali Murdan Khan, Yusuf Beg, Rain Khan, Rustum Beg, Bu Turab Khan son of Allah Vardi Khan, Nuruddin Khan son of Saiyyid Alam Barah, his brother Najmuddin Khan, Agha Beg and others - nineteen mansabdars in all - were wounded and captured. Santa kept them as prisoners for some days and then set them free after realising a ransom of two lacs from Ali Mardan Khan and thirty thousand each from the others. The emperor was distressed by this news." (187a)

"About the same time it was reported to the emperor that a battle had taken place between Santa and Tahawwar Khan and Jan Nisar Khan. Jan Nisar Khan after being wounded, considered it a blessing to be carried out of the battle-field by his scouts. Tahawwar Khan on being wounded threw himself among the corpses that were lying in mud and water and thus saved his life. Similarly many officers known to Aurangzeb lost their reputation, property and honour in this battle. Though the sadness in the emperor's mind increased, he only said, 'Decision is in the hands of God.'" (187b)

Santa's greatest achievement, his victory over Qasim Khan and Khanazad Khan (Ruhullah Khan), was

recorded in the first instance by Mamuri (188-189) and has been retold by Khafi Khan in Persian (Vol. II, 428-433) and by Sir Jadunath in his Aurangzeb (Vol. V, 112-119).

If there is a Divine power that guides the course of our universe, it is perhaps not without a sense of humour. It was ordained that the old and incurable fanatic with his jazia-theory would be defeated towards the end of his life by a Maratha woman, who would extract from his officers a fourth (chouth) and a tenth (Sardeshmukhi) of the imperial revenue, and Mughal officers who refused to pay the Maratha demands would be captured and compelled to pay a ransom in addition. What really happened is best told by Mamuri, before whose eyes the tragic drama unfolded itself.

Aurangzeb started from Islampuri in 1699 to capture the Maratha forts. But only one of them — Torna — could be seized by Mughal military might. The rest, after unsuccessful efforts, were purchased by Aurangzeb's officers to save the failing military credit of the emperor. The whole process is revealed by Mamuri, "Let it be known to the wise that the mildness, patience, and information of the emperor was such that when his amirs captured a distant fort without going there, or the high officers of his court reduced a fort after the siege of a few months by paying a sum of money to the (Maratha qiladar) so that they obtained the key of the fort and sent it to him, the news of it would also come to him through the verbal representation of the harkaras and he

would give the same amount, without increase or decrease as in'am to the officer through whose efforts the capture of the fort had been arranged." (202b)

Meanwhile the Marathas produced a genius who succeeded in making the empire of Aurangzeb and his successors ridiculous. "Ramraja on his death," Mamuri writes, "left two wives and two young sons. People could not have imagined that a widow with a baby to nurse would be able to raise a tumult, or that if she did so, it would be difficult to suppress it.

"In short Tara Bai, the elder widow of Ramraja put her three year old son in the place of his father and took all power in her own hands - the change and transfer of her officers, (increasing) the prosperity of her own people and the destruction and desolation of the imperial territory. She so effectively organised and prepared her troops for ravaging and plundering the six subas of the Deccan till the frontiers of Malwa and Burhanpur, and thus winning the heart of her own officers, that in opposition to it all efforts, campaigns, and sieges of the emperor till the end of his reign (proved useless) and the power of the rebels increased day by day."

"Although the emperor by the blows of his sword, the expenditure of the treasures accumulated by Shah Jahan and the martyrdom of many thousand men (adam) brought (Maratha) forts within his power, the Marathas became insolent and entering the territories of the old empire, took to ravaging and plundering. When they reached a place, they settled down with their

wives and children and lived with peace of mind for months and years. They were insolent beyond limits, but owing to the great distance they could not be punished in the way they deserved, for the emperor with all his army was in a far off hill-tract."

"Sayadat Khan son of Sa'adat Khan, the Sadrus Sadur, suffered a severe defeat and lost the sight of both his eyes owing to bullet-shots. They took him away as a captive but he obtained his freedom by paying a large ransom and came to the court."

"At this time, having distributed all the parganas between themselves, they appointed subedar, Kamayashdars (administrative officers) and rahdars with troops at various places in the same way as imperial officers. Whenever they heard of a heavily laden caravan, the rahdars were to plunder it. Wherever Kamayashdars were appointed, they were to help the subedars in realising chauth-money from the (Mughal) faujdars; (in case of refusal) they were to lay siege and desolate inhabited places. On every route they built a garhi (fortress) as their place of security from which they plundered the surrounding country. Further village-headmen (mugaddams) of some standing in rural areas also constructed garhis according to the need of the times and in agreement with the Marathas; with the support of the Marathas, they refused to pay taxes to the imperial officers. In this way they saved themselves from the Marathas and also gave protection in their fortresses to the women and children of the Marathas at the time of battle.

Matters came to this pass that owing to the pre-dominance of the Marathas the land up to the frontiers of Ahmadabad and the parganas of Malwa was plundered and reduced to dust. The Marathas ravaged the subas of the Deccan and Ahmadabad and the precincts of Ujjain. They attacked by caravans within ten or twelve karohs of the imperial army, and, in fact, up to the imperial camp itself. To give a complete account of this distressing situation will be needlessly painful, but I will give an account of their inselence during the period of the sieges, which proved quite useless for suppressing the Maratha trouble." (204-a-b)

Mamuri brought his history up to Aurangzeb's death. He had put some parts of his book in a final form, other parts he might have wished to revise. Probably he never got the opportunity of revising and publishing his work. Also unfortunately for our author, a manuscript of his work fell into the hands of Khafi Khan, who absorbed the whole of it in his Muntakhabul Lubab. The credit of discovering Mamuri's work goes to Professor Sri Ram Sharma, who first discovered it in the Rampur State Library and drew attention to it in his Bibliography of the Mughal Empire.

...

CHAPTER III

AQIL KHAN RAZI

The Wajiat-i Alamgiri

(Persian text 144 pages with an English summary of 55 pages edited by Khan Bahadur Molvi Zafar Hassan, O.B.E., printed by the Aligarh Historical Institute. This work is also known by other names, such as Alamgir Nama etc.)

This book, or rather fragment, is the earliest account of the War of Succession which has survived to us in the Persian language. Since the English Introduction and Summary are fairly detailed, it is only necessary to draw attention to some features which the pious and learned editor has over looked.

The book begins without the usual doxology dear to Muslim hearts. This may be due to the fact that the first pages of the book have been lost; it is also possible that the doxology was never written, the author being postponed it till after the completion of the work.

The work begins with the following praise of Aurangzeb - "He is a king, durwesh in character; he is a ruler, created according to the virtues of the Lord of mankind. His holy nature is free from human defects and his sacred inner spirit is exempt from
(1)
the temptations of the flesh." After these compliments, which most musalmans would only pay to the Prophet, the author declares Aurangzeb to be the greatest ruler of the House of Timur, strict in his prayers, fasting, etc.

1. Persian Text, p. 1, and 108.

The author was writing under the regime of an autocrat and he refers to the execution of Sarmad. He had to be careful and his attitude towards Aurangzeb is one of great respect. Still he was not prepared to tell lies. It was, apparently, quite compatible with the Divine attributes' of Aurangzeb that our author should tell us that Aurangzeb sent a letter to Qutbul Mulk, saying that his son, Mohammad Sultan, intended to go to his uncle in Bengal by way of Orissa, when he had readily ordered Mohammad Sultan⁽¹⁾ to attack Qutbul Mulk. Many such instances can be found in the work.

The composition of the book was not authorised. Apart from the last section, which merely notes the conquest - (but not the loss) of Assam and the deaths of Mir Jumla and Shah Jahan, the substantial part of the book is devoted to the War of Succession till the disappearance of Shuja in Arakan (summer 1660) and was apparently written soon after 1660. The last section of four Persian pages was probably written later to give some sort of completeness to the book. When our author was writing, Aurangzeb had not given the titles of Bi-Shukoh and Na-Murad to the two brothers he had murdered and na-shuja to the brother he had driven to death at the hands of the arakanese. He had also not developed the historical theory to justify his actions which the Alamgir Namah expounds in detail. Mohammad Kazim wants us to believe that⁽²⁾ Aurangzeb never used foul language, but Kazim

1. English Summary, p. 9.

2. Alamgir Namah, p. 1080.

(under instructions) uses every abusive word against Aurangzeb's dead brothers. Our author is respectful towards all the brothers and refers to them as An ianab or His Highness.

Our author's analysis of the war of succession is both simple and correct. Dara Shukoh considered himself to be the legitimate successors of Shah Jahan and was determined to liquidate his brothers. His brothers determined to combine against him. Aurangzeb and Shuja, before proceeding to their provinces, formed a compact against Dara in 1652 A.D. Since there was only one throne and four claimants, it was obvious that three claimants had to perish. Our author has nothing to say against Dara on theological grounds. Similarly our author approves loyalty to the salt in the case of the officers of all the brothers, and he condemns the way in which Shah Jahan officers deserted him after the battle of Samugarh.

So far as details are concerned, the most important contributions of our author appertain to the circumstances that led to the imprisonment (qaid) not retirement (inziwa) - of Shah Jahan and the ~~the~~ arrest of Murad. Our author gives us more details but on the same lines as Sadiq Khan. "Thereafter Shah Jahan was not allowed to come out of the female apartments (harem Sera) ⁽¹⁾ " When the ex-emperor died, our author regrets that there was no royal princes among the mourners. Our author's account of Murad's arrest has been utilised by Sir Jadunath.

1. English Summary, p. 31.

But curiously enough, after Murad had been arrested and sent to Delhi, our author accuses him of 'deciet' and mischief' (Kai pilasi wa bad ma'ashi). And poor Murad had said, 'It is not becoming a Muslim to harbour any suspicion or doubt about Aurangzeb after the agreement has been confirmed by religious oaths.'⁽¹⁾

Among the important items omitted by our author are the executions of Dara and Murad, though he just refers to Dara's being captured. Possibly both items were too painful for him.

Our author does not give his name anywhere. Many officer's writing unauthorised books did so. The learned editor has decided that Aqil Khan Razi (Mir Askari Khwafi) was the author of this work on the basis of the following remarks of Khafi Khan in his Muntakhabul Lubab: "Although the historians of the reign (of Aurangzeb), who have compiled all the three Alamgir Namahs in compliance with the royal wishes, have only very briefly described the incident of the confinement (inziya shudan) of his Majesty (Shah Jahan), yet Aqil Khan Khawafi has related it with details in his work, the Alamgir Namah."⁽²⁾

Now Khafi Khan writing more than half-a-century after the Maqiat-i Alamgiri had been composed, was merely recording a tradition of which he could have had no direct knowledge. And the career of Aqil Khan, so far as known to us, makes it unlikely that he could

1. Muntakhabul Lubab, Vol. II, pp. 211.

2. *ibid.*

have written such a book. Aqil Khan is first referred to as the second Bakhshi of Aurangzeb during his Deccan Viceroyalty. When Aurangzeb marched north, he left Aqil Khan in charge of Daulatabad. He was summoned to Delhi on the occasion of the Second Coronation (June, 1659) and appointed Faujdar of the Doab. But he was dismissed or resigned from his post and given a pension.⁽¹⁾ But in 1663-64 he was appointed Darogha-i Ghushl Khana with the rank of 2000/700. In 1668-69 we find him holding the post of Darogha-i Dak Chauki, but he retired from service again with a pension of Rs 1000. But in 1679-80 he was appointed Bakhshi-i Tan and governor of Delhi in 1681. He seems to have held this post till his death in 1696-7. He has left behind him a poetical diwan and a masnawi, but no prose-work (apart from the Waqiat-i Alamgiri) is attributed to him.

The learned editor admits that Aqil Khan was not in northern India during the period covered by the Waqiat. It seems odd that an officer of Aurangzeb should write about facts concerning which he had no direct knowledge and remain silent thereafter for some thirty six years. The internal evidence of the Waqiat proves that it is the work of an officer of Aurangzeb, who was present on the spot and had such a high opinion of his hero that he started writing

1. Khafi Khan puts this pension as Rs 5,000 a year, Maasirul Umra as Rs 10,000 and the Maasir-i Alamgiri as Rs 1000. Considering all circumstances the Maasir-i Alamgiri seems to be correct.

without authorisation. But as Aurangzeb marched onward ruthlessly, our author found it difficult to reconcile his hero-worship with proved facts and used the wrong adjectives, hoping that the reader would correct this intentional error. But when Aurangzeb proceeded to murder his brothers in cold blood, our author preferred to remain silent. Just after the death of Shah Jahan, he took up his pen again to complete his brief work and shed a tear over the corpse of his former master. It is impossible now to discover the anonymous author of the Alamgir Namah. Though it praises Aurangzeb it is not an official record, and was not controlled by him. We must be grateful for the fact that it has survived.

...

CHAPTER IV

MOHAMMAD KAZIM

The Alamgir Namah

(Edited for the Bengal Royal Asiatic Society by
Molvi Mohammad Khadim and Moulvi Abdul Hai of
the Calcutta Madrasa, 1847).

This is the well-known official history of the first ten years of Aurangzeb's reign. The original idea was to put the history of the first eighteen years of the reign in one volume, but after his tenth regnal year, Aurangzeb ordered Munshi Mohammad Kazim, son of Mohammad Amin also known as Mir Amina not to write any more and Kazim, who had already hinted that Aurangzeb was the "Perfect man," a designation which orthodox Musalmans have exclusively applied to the Founder of their Faith, brought his book to an end by commenting on Aurangzeb's extraordinary devotion to religious rites. This left the orthodox Editor, Maulvi Abdul Hai, no alternative but to remark: "Though the person of this religion-protecting emperor was a collection of the ocean of religious learning and a mine of political virtues, and skill, courage and wisdom were attributed to him in the affairs of the state, still merely for the sake of worldly gains he resorted to trickery with the religious law (hila-i Shara-i) in order to imprison his father by a rebellion, to shed the blood of his brothers and to lead a large number of Musalmans to death in his wars against Bijapur, Golkonda and other states (b 8). In other words, no amount of fasting and prayer could, according to principles of the shari'at, wash off the crimes of murder, and of leading Musalmans

to death in an unequal conflict of which no one could see the end, and of which the only object was the emperor's 'worldly gain.'

The author was employed for his work at the beginning of the third regnal year. He tells us that he was suffering from financial distress and the appointment brought him distinction and position (p. 23). Elsewhere he tells us with pardonable pride that "the name of this unknown person has been inscribed on the rolls of time (1069)." Exactly how Mohammad Kazim was paid we do not know, he was not given a mansab, but at one place (p.844) he refers to the fact that he was awarded one thousand rupees. The Hindi poet, Kab Indra, had also been awarded the same amount.

Mohammad Kazim tells us that the news-writers (of the court) were ordered to keep him informed from month to month and year to year. He was also given the privilege of making inquiries from officers who had been on distant campaigns. But the final word lay with the emperor who subjected Kazim's work to his 'order' and correction. (p. 23). Our author wrote as he was told to write. He tells us very little, for example, about the relations of Aurangzeb and Shah Jahan after the battle of Dharmat and tries by his vague words to leave upon the reader the impression that Shah Jahan retired from the world of his own accord and was not, as Sadiq Khan makes clear, put in 'custody and imprisonment.' He expects his readers to swallow a fair quantity of lies and insinuations. His readers are expected to believe that when starting for northern India, Aurangzeb imprisoned Mir Jumla against his wishes; the trick by which Murad was imprisoned by Aurangzeb near Mathura is not described,

but the reader is invited to find a justification for Aurangzeb's duplicity in the Quranic verse — "Had there been two Gods (controlling the world), They would have created disturbances (p. 138)". But when no excuses were possible, Aurangzeb ordered Kazim to be silent. Whether Murad deserved to be executed for the murder of Ali Naqi was a question on which even the sons of Ali Naqi differed. But it was not honest for Aurangzeb who had accepted Murad as co-heir of the Kingdom, to raise the question, when everybody could see that his real object was to murder a rival. The Alamgir Nama, consequently is silent about the judicial murder of Murad.

A different attitude had to be adopted by our author about the failure of the imperial campaigns. Aurangzeb, both as prince and emperor, knew how to maintain, and even to increase, his military reputation in spite of defects, and it was not till he personally went to direct the Deccan campaigns that at least his higher officers realised how grossly incompetent he was as a director of military affairs. Our author is only concerned with two failures — Assam and the Deccan.

The failure of the Mughal campaign against Assam and Kuch Bihar was in part due to the military misdirections of an old jewel-merchant, who was allowed to try his hand at military conquests at the age of seventy. A general of Allauddin Khilji, under similar circumstances, would have been ordered to plunder what he could, to return before the advent of the monsoon and not to undertake any administrative obligations in

a territory where the population was incurably hostile. This incurable hostility would have been there in any case, but as Mamuri, writing on the authority of the greatest surviving officers makes clear, it was greatly intensified by the misbehaviour of the Mughal officers and soldiers. Orders to respect the life and property of the conquered people were repeatedly issued but they were not obeyed. At the same time all their places of worship, which the despoiler's hands could reach, were pulled down. "The Assamese," our author remarks "have greater capacity of physical endurance and managing difficult enterprises than most people. They are hard-striving with capacity for survival, war-like, revengful fraudulent and deceitful." (pp. 726-27).

Owing to the misbehaviour of the conqueror's, no section of the conquered population could be won over. But our author has a conception of 'imperial justice' insaf-i Shahinshahi (p. 688) - and his attempt to reconcile the two gives us the following paragraph which though based on a lie (for the conquerors simply had no time for instituting any sort of revenue-system, let alone measuring the land) is nevertheless significant in what it confesses.

"In short, owing to these events, the raiyats (Assamese) who had submitted and come back to their homes, fled away again. Meanwhile news spread about the re-establishment of Bhim Narain's authority over Kuch-Bihar, and this led to increase of pride in the conquered enemy, and the increase of cowardice among the victorious troops. This cataclysm was due to the fact that officers, who had been put in charge of the

revenue-affairs of the conquered territory, did not act according to policy and discretion (demanded by the circumstances) but began to assess (cultivable) land and demand revenue from the raiyat on the same principles as are followed in the imperial territory. Now the zamindars of the territories of Hindustan adopt a lenient policy in the collection of revenue in the mahals of their lands in order to ensure the loyalty of their raiyat and keep them well-pleased, so that they do not rebel and refuse to pay taxes: these zamindars do not adopt the laws and regulations, which are enforced in the imperial territory." (pp. 781-2)

It is obvious that Mughal mansabdars, who had their jagirs for a short time only, would demand everything to which they were entitled, and perhaps something more, and unlike hereditary local rulers, who were dependent on the goodwill of their subjects in war and peace, they were singularly inhuman. This fact along with the religious fanaticism and military incompetence of Aurangzeb, explains the downfall of the Mughal Empire.

Here, as elsewhere, our author was not allowed to describe events to the discredit of his master. We are told how Assam was conquered, but we are left to guess how it was lost, for in the tenth regnal year the Assamese captured Gauhati, which had been imperial territory before the war of succession, and killed its thanedar, Saiyyid Firoz Khan (pp. 10, 68). Kirat Singh son of Raja Jai Singh, who was appointed to fight the Assamese with insufficient troops and disobedient subordinates, was unable to achieve anything in particular.

Aurangzeb's two ventures in the Deccan - the first against Shivaji and the second against Bijapur - were assigned to Mirza Raja Jai Singh. The importance of Shivaji lay in the fact that being a middle class man he was not paratysed by the traditions that had led Rajput rajas to defeat since the time of Jaipal and Anangpal; also he had a resourcefulness and ingenuity in war and peace, in battles and sieges, which led Mamuri to give him the title of ayyar (wizard). Under the circumstances Jai Singh was well-advised in conciliating Shivaji without attempting to crush him completely, for had he driven matters to extremes, Jai Singh would have been crushed in Konkan in the same way as Mir Jumla had been crushed in Assam. It was not Jai Singh's fault that Aurangzeb showed utter lack of statesmanship in dealing with the greatest Indian apponent that an emperor of Delhi (Mughal or pre-Mughal) had to face. Our author describes Raj Jai Singh's campaign against Shivaji in detail, but his account of Shivaji at Agra is very brief.

Jai Singh's campaign against Bijapur was a failure. But the responsibility of it did not lie on Jai Singh shoulders as the following statement of our author makes clear. "The imperial order was issued to Raja Jai Singh that after arranging for the administration of the forts and territory of Shiva that had come under imperial control, he was to hasten with the imperial troops to attack the territory of Bijapur; he was to strive hard to ruin the towns and villages of that region as all their inhabitants were superstitions kafirs and misguided idolators. On reaching the foot of the Bijapur fort, he was to lay siege to it and destory as much of Bijapur territory as possible. (p. 913)

But Jai Singh was not able to reach within striking distance of Bijapur. Since military supremacy lay with the Mughals, the Deccanise the (including the Marathas had from the time of Malik Amber been developing the art of jung-i qazzaki (cassack or guerrilla warfare); success in such warfare could only be possible for the party that was supported by the people of the country side, and the mass of the Deccan cultivators were against the Mughuls. But peasants were unable to protect their forms against the soldiers, and Mughal strategy since the time of Shah Jahan had for its object the complete destruction of the Deccan peasantry so that the Deccan states may be left without any resources. The Deccan states, in their desperate attempts to save their capitals, followed a scorched-earth policy so that the enemy may have nothing to live on, The result was the complete ruin of the country, "The victorious army," our atuhor assures us, "did not intend to besiege Bijapur, and consequently had not brought with it heavy guns and other requisites for besieging such a fort. But from the frontiers of the imperial territory till the precincts of Bijapur the country was plundered and desolated by the imperial army; nothing was left undone in ruining the precincts of the fort. The enemy as has already been narrated, had broken their tanks and filled up their wells and haulies (large wells) with the earth and left no trace of water or habitation in the neighbourhood. (pp. 999-1000)

Since these words must have been read and approved by Aurangzeb, we have no alternative but to conclude that desolating the countryside for the sake of his worldly gain - the expansion of his kingdom - was his

Succession the theological tendencies Aurangzeb developed after the period of ten years covered by the Alamgir Narah. Aurangzeb had destroyed a few new temples during his governorship of various provinces. But so had Jahangir and Shah Jahn. There was no reason for thinking that Aurangzeb would change the basic principles of the empire by following a policy of religious persecution. The Alamgir Narah gives the names of Hindu mansabdars who supported Aurangzeb and Dara at the beginning of the struggle, the former were slightly more numerous than the latter. Mohammad Kazim abuses Dara for being a heretic and a follower of Hindu philosophy. But he certainly had not read Dara's Sirr-i Akhbar and neither he nor Aurangzeb had received the necessary philosophical training for its proper comprehension. Dara, on his part, made no appeal to Hindus on religious grounds. Murad, whatever his other faults, was sound in doctrine; if Shuja had any Shi'ite proclivities, our author (doubtless writing under instructions) makes no reference to them.

(iii) Aurangzeb at the beginning of his military career was driven back to India by Abdul Aziz Khan and the Mā Uzbeks. Towards the end of his reign he suffered crushing defeats at the hands of Maratha adventurers, like Santa Ghorepare, and by the officer's of Tara Bai later on. Compared with the great Muslim organisers of victory, like Walid bin Abdul Malik, or Campaigners like Mohammad Ghaznin, and Amir Taimur, he cuts an extremely sorry figure. But he knew how to keep his nerves steady when a battle seemed all but lost, as this got him a military reputation that served him well

during the war of Succession. It was bright in contrast with the unreliable nerves of his brothers.

(iv) The decision of the War of Succession really lay in the hands of the mansabdars, and Aurangzeb succeeded because he knew how to win them over. He gave to the officers of the empire the impression that they would find in him a master who would not be in the hands of any favourite, that he would think and decide matters for himself and that he would not ignore services rendered. They also know that as a leader in the War he had the necessary wisdom (aqal) - foresight, craft and guide - which would lead to success.

(v) Lastly, Aurangzeb could be depended upon to follow the conventions and traditions which the imperial officers in India, as well as other Muslim countries, had laid down for similar wars of succession. As revealed by the Alamgir Namah, they may be briefly summarised as follows. At the beginning of the war every officer was expected to follow the Shahzada he was serving. If he died in battle, the fact would be put down to his credit; in any case, the members of his family would have a claim to service under Aurangzeb. The fugitive officers of his brothers, if they could reach his camp, were always welcome. Their grades would be confirmed and perhaps increased, and they would be entrusted with the most responsible offices, regardless of the fact that they had fought against him. Even Dara's wounded officers, who came to Aurangzeb after the battle of Deorai, were taken into his service. It is well-known that many Rajput officers died fighting bravely against Aurangzeb and Murad; but a careful

examination of the Alamgir Namah will reveal that in about all cases ~~this~~ their heirs were restored to their lands and their mansabds.

(vi) Like the official histories of Shah Jahan, the Alamgir Namah gives a long list of officers who received promotions or other awards on different occasions. The proportion of Hindu officers is about the same as in the reign of Shah Jahan or slightly higher.

No account has yet been found of the type of education given to Aurangzeb, and even Sir Jadunath is silent about the matter. Our author who came into contact with the emperor in one third of year of the reign credits him with 'acquired knowledge...in religious sciences such as the Prophet's traditions (hadis), Arabic commentaries (on the Quran), and the law (fiqh) of the Hanfis." He also assures us that the emperor ~~studied~~ studied books on mysticism (tarikat), theology and Ethics like the Ahyaul ulum and Kimiya-i Sa'adat (of Imam Ghazzali) and the works of other great scholars. Though Aurangzeb knew parts of the Quran by heart, he completed his memorisation of the whole Quran after he had ascended the throne. No previous ruler has probably been a hafiz (i.e. one who remembers the whole Quran by heart). Our author assures us that Aurangzeb was excellent both in the Arabic (naskh) and the Persian (nastaliq) calligraphy. He had made one copy of the Quran when a Shahzada and sent it to Mecca. By the time Kazim completed his work, the emperor had finished writing a second copy of the Quran in such spare moments as he could find.

It is useless discussing the style of the Alamgir Namah. The author uses the customary blue-book style, but his work is interspersed with highly Arabicised passages in which very cheap and commonplace ideas are put in difficult words. Still one has to be grateful to Kazim for what he tells about these ten years, though Barni and Badauni could have given us the same information in a fourth of the space and in a captivating style.

...

CHAPTER V

THE FATAWA-I ALAMGIRI

(Translated into Urdu under the title Fatawa-i Hindia by Maulana Amir Ali, with an elaborate introduction of 212 pages; 13 volumes; Newal Kishore Press, 4th edition).

This enormous work is confined exclusively to the Hanafi Shariat and suffers from all the defects of a mere compilation. It was assumed that the time of ijtihad - promulgation of new principles - was over, and that no persons to whom such a responsible duty could be assigned were alive or would be born in the years to come. Reliance had to be based on past authorities. But the question naturally arises - what authorities

The Fatawa-i Alamgiri assumes, and all the ulama-i zahiri (or non-mystic scholars) agreed in the assumption that going direct to the Quran or the Prophet's precepts for the promulgation of a legal principle was not permissible. Recourse could only be had to acknowledged mutahids. But what mutahids?

The Risalas of Imam Shafi'i have been printed in Egypt along with his Ikhtilafatul Hadis (Contradictions between the Prophet's Precepts). Secondary Shafi'ite authorities, like Baihaqi's Ahkamul Quran, have also been printed and a careful collection shows that they have followed Imam Shafi'i very closely. This is primarily due to the fact that the Shafi'i sect prospered in the Arabic speaking countries. The Hanafis were not so fortunate. Imam Abu Hanifa wrote no book, though the late Maulana Shibli would have us believe that scholars working under him prepared an enormous (of which no trace remains) covering the whole field of

of the Shari'at. A work of Imam Yusuf, called Kitabul Khiraj (Book of Revenue) has survived, but it does not cover the basic sphere of the shari'at.

The present position of the Hanafi Shari'at as explained by Molvi Amir Ali Sahib, is as follows:-

(1) Basic Principles (Zahirur Rawayat) - These are to be found in the four or six works of Imam Mohammad. But none of their works have survived, though we have commentaries written upon them. Many other works have been attributed to Imam Mohammad but no reliance can be placed upon such statements. Further, the fact that two or three persons possess a manuscript is not enough. No reliance can be based upon any book unless its manuscripts have been in circulation through the ages.

(2) Secondary Principles (Ghair Zahirur Rawayat) - These are to be found in the numerous commentaries on the works of Imam Mohammad that have survived, and in books discussing the principles contained in them. Unfortunately the commentators, in their anxiety to ensure that Imam Mohammad should only be understood in the way they understood him, mixed his words, with their own, and it became impossible for posterity to disentangle the two. Meanwhile, about the middle of the tenth century, the Musalmans learnt the art of making paper from the Chinese and it became easier to write and circulate books. Unauthentic works also appeared; many unreliable works (Maulana Amir Ali regrets) found circulation because they were attributed to really good teachers. The basis of Hanafi fiqh or law are the books that were written after the discovery

of paper-making and before the invasion of Changiz Khan (950-1220), Inevitably they only deal with the problems of that period and with the atmosphere of this period.

(3) Fatawa (or Comprehensive Text-books) - The confusion created in Hanafi law could at last be brought under partial control, by a proper system of classification. And this the Fatawa or Text books undertook. Most later text-books accept the classification adopted by Imam Burhanuddin Ali bin Abu Bakr Marghinani, who died in 593 H (1197 A.D.) in his famous Hidayah. Short works like the Kanzud Dajiaq and long works like the Fatawa-i Tatar Khani (prepared under the supervision and, in any case, at the cost of Tatar Khan, the famous officer of Firoz Shah Tughlaq) appeared in due course. Though Imam Burhanuddin attempts to reconcile authorities, the Fatawa, generally speaking, were only expected to quote the Muitahids, whose work had not survived or who had written nothing at all, on the basis of very a secondary authorities, which had taken no care to preserve the chain of narrators. If the Muitahids agreed or were said to agree, the Fatawa gave a unanimous opinion binding upon all; if the muitahid's disagreed, the Fatawa were only expected to record their discordant opinions.

Sometimes, in the second decade of his reign, Aurangzeb decided that the compilation of a new Fatawa was necessary. He did not like Justinian ask his committee of experts to find the basis of a universal law, nor did he like Napoleon wish his law to be the foundation of a new civilisation. His only object was

compilation. He was not prepared for anything new, for that would mean the sin of bida'at (novelty); the works on which his scholars relied dealt only with the condition of Ajam in the two or three centuries before Chengiz Khan during which Muslim governments had ruled population that were overwhelmingly Muslim. But it was not permitted to change their principles to suit Indian conditions. The law enforced in practice had changed centuries before, but the Fatawa-i Alamgiri, like its predecessor, the Fatawa-i Tatar Khani, assumed that no change in theory was possible.

The compilation of the Fatawa-i Alamgiri had to be made within this traditional and unprogressive frame work. The first point was to collect manuscripts; the imperial Library was available for this purpose and secondary works of the type we have discussed were collected from all sources. This part of the work was at least thoroughly done. According to Maulana Amir Ali some 600 scholars were put to the task and in case of one scholar at least we are told that he was paid Rs 3 per day. The total cost is said to have been two and a half lacs, but this is probably an under-estimate.

(1)

The charge of the work was given to Shaikh Nizam. The scholars working under him were required to study and summarise; they were not allowed to think. Following the traditions of the past, the work was divided into books, chapters, sections and sub-sections, and all principles in various texts were put into their proper place. The authors of the Fatawa-i Alamgiri

1. Alamgir Namah, 1086-7

summarise or enunciate a principle and then refer to the book from which they have taken it. As in previous Text-books, or Fatawa, differences of opinion are allowed to stand. When driven to it, the officer in charge - the qazi, the Mir-i adl, etc., - had to make a choice with reference to the litigants before him. But their preferring one authority to another was not binding on their successors. The principle of precedent - that the decision of a low-court should be binding on its successors and subordinate courts in similar cases - is not found in the Muslim shari'at.

Aurangzeb, it seems, took a good deal of interest in the progress of the work. A contributor to the Ma'arif (Azamgarh) draws attention to a statement of Shah Waliullah concerning his father, Shah Abdur Rahim, in his Anfasul Arifin. Shah Abdur Rahim, who was for a short time one of the scholars working on the Fatawa, revised a draft and wrote some angry remarks on the margin. Shaikh Nizam, when reading out the revised draft before Aurangzeb, read those angry remarks also as if they were a part of the text. The emperor at once objected to the composition, and Shaikh Nizam sought some excuse. Later on Aurangzeb crossed the name of Shah Abdur Rahim from the list of the salaried officers and offered him forty bighas of land. The gift was refused.

One can not help admiring the extensive field of law and religion covered by the Fatawa-i Alauddin. But in law as in politics, Aurangzeb, was not destined to herald a new epoch but to bring a long period of prosperity to a close. The Fatawa-i Alauddin

brings to an end the centuries during which Muslim jurisprudence had flourished.

The Shari'at principles claiming to regulate the relation of Muslims with non-Muslims (which are all put in the third volume) will be discussed later, but a good example of how Muslim jurisprudence came to an end is given by the 'Book on Apostacy'. It was declared by religious scholars that apostacy in case of male offender was a crime punishable with death, but female apostates were to be imprisoned and thrashed every third day. If they had defined apostacy as treason, Muslim commonsense and humanity would have accepted such a punishment. But the Fatawa-i Alamgiri considered valid whatever to be any author of some standing had declared apostacy. The following example should suffice. (I) Any one who says that the Quran is created or the religion (Islam) is created or that Islam and Kufr are one is an apostate (III, 452). (II) A man who, says "I know nothing about the qualities of Islam," is an apostate (III, 453). (III) A man who sins but keeps saying, 'Let us display our Islamic virtues,' is an apostate. (III, 454). (IV) A Christian accepts Islam but exclaims at the death of his rich father, 'I wish that I had not accepted Islam till now so that I could have inherited him.' This exclamation makes him an apostate. (V) Any one who uses the terms, hand of God, 'eye of God,' (except in Arabic for they have been used in the Quran) is an apostate (III, 455). (VI) It is not Kufr or apostacy to say that 'God on His Throne knows' but to declare that 'God under

His Throne knows' makes one an apostate (III, 456).

(VII) According to Shaikh Nasr Dabusi, a man becomes an apostate if he prays, 'O God ! Increase my means of livelihood or p bring prosperity to my trade or do not treat me cruelly.' (III, 456). (VIII) If one man tells another, 'Do not eat too much if you wish 'God to consider you His friend,' and the latter replies, 'I will eat whether God considers me His friend or not.'

This reply makes him an apostate. (IX) The Fatawa-i Qazi Khan declares: "If one man tells another, 'Do not speak lies' and the latter replies, 'Lies are meant to be spoken,' the answer makes him an apostate.

(X) One man says to another, 'YOU will do this, God willing (Insha Allah)' and the second man replies, 'I will do it - and without God willing.' This sort of answer makes a man an apostate. (XI) According to the Sirajiah anyone who prays, "O God, Do not deny me Thy mercy," is guilty of kufir. (XII) According to the Fatawa-i Tatar Khani, the expression of disapproval with reference to any law of the shari'at, e.g. the permission to marry four wives - makes one an apostate. (XIII) According to the Ghiasiiah a man becomes an apostate if he declares, "How can I control women when God Himself has not succeeded in controlling them." (XIV) According to Mohit, If one man ~~says~~ says to another, "God will certainly punish you for your sins," and the second man replies, "Have your seated God on His Throne so that He may carry out your orders." Such a reply amounts to apostacy. (XV) A man becomes an apostate if he declares, "what can God do beyond what others can do - besides sending one to Hell," (XVI) It is difficult

to give the whole list but the following is a good example. " A poor man living in great distress is guilty of apostacy if he prays: " O God, I am Thy creature. What justice is this that he is living in affluence while everything is denied to me."

Obviously apostacy so defined could not be enforced by the punishment of death. But centuries before Aurangzeb the Shari'at in many spheres, the most prominent being Criminal Law, had ceased to be law (qanun) and was merely opinion (rai). In distant West a new theory of legislation was gradually gaining acceptance, which based law not on dead, fossilised authorities but on public welfare as its objective - and an objective which could only be found by the process of trial and errors. The Fatawa-i Alamgiri in this sense consolidates the medieval shari'at and brings it to a close. It had come to a dead end and there was nothing more to be done.

...

CHAPTER VI

NIMAT KHAN-I ALI

Waqā-i or Fath-i Haiderabad

To a scholar who had read about the remarkable conquests of the early Saracens Aurangzeb with his mansabdars rent by internal dissension, his indisciplined and starving army for which he could organise no proper commissariat, his theological pretensions based not on the higher principles of Islam but on the sornpulous performance of religious rites; the growing disobedience of the administrative officers and the increasing incapacity of his generals, must have seemed a ridiculous figure by 1688. The occasion produced the author. There has survived to us from those days a book called Waqā-i (events) which is a scathing satire on Aurangzeb's ideology, his officers, the most important of whom are named, and the condition of the army during the siege of Golkonda. The book consists of eight sections (or Waqā-i), but it begins without a formal preface or introduction and does not come to the capture of the fort. Tradition has decided that the Waqā-i is one of the stiffest books in the Persian language, like the Ijaz-i Khusravi and Seh Naar Zahuri, and it was, therefore, prescribed for students of the higher standard. To meet this demand the book was printed by Nawal Kishore Press with a elaborate marginal commentry.

The author does not give his name anywhere but only refers to himself at one place as 'a Khanazad officer of the just court.' But tradition (confirmed by Khafi Khan who may have known the author personally) attributes the work to Nimat Khan-i Ali, about whom Dr. C.A.Storey gives the following biographical note. "Mirza Nuruddin Mohammad Ali son of Hakim Fathuddin Shikrazi, belonged to a medical family of Shiraz. If not born in India, he spent most of his life there. According to his own statement in the Bahadur Shah Namah, he entered government service in Shah Jahan's reign. According to the Khazana-i Amirah he was for a period in Aurangzeb's reign Superintendent of the Rajal Kitchen with the title 'Nimat Khan' conferred upon him in 1692-93. At the end of the reign he was keeper of the crown jewels with the title of Muqarrab Khan and as he tells us himself, he kept the jewels at Gwalior during the warfare which followed Aurangzeb's death and delivered them to Bahadur Shah on his accession. He then received the title of 'Danishmand Khan' and was ordered to write the official history of the reign. According to the Tarikh-i Mohammadi he died at Delhi on April 30, 1710 A.H. Ali is famous as a satirist and a wit. The waga-i which is the best known of his satirical compositions, is still popular in India (1) among those who read Persian."

Obviously a work like the waga-i could not be circulated while Aurangzeb was alive and our author took care to remain in the emperor's good books. But

-
1. C.A.Storey: Persian Literature, a Bio-bibliography, section II Fasciculus 3, M. History of India (Luzec and Co., London).

there was nothing to prevent its circulation after both the emperor and the author had died, though some officers whom he had ridiculed were still alive.

The following translations and summaries will give some idea of the witticisms for which our author is famous. They all appertain to Aurangzeb and his administration.

"Irregular verbs are like the (imperial) plans and campaigns in the Deccan (16)" "Alchemy means being in the service of Abul Hasan for a week (15)." "No philosopher will say that vacuum is impossible after he has paid a visit to the imperial treasury (16)."

"Ghani" means rich and miskin means poor, but the justice of the emperor has made all men equal (14)."

"no, not, never - there are the negative expressions which they use in the Diwan-i Tan or salary office (16). Poverty, starvation, durweshi, lack of means, patience, and waiting - this is what the officers of the emperor have to face in the Deccan (15)." "The terms 'deception' and 'fraud' mean the propaganda of the Shaikh of Sirhind (16)" "At present the victorious army is suffering from the afflictions of the Copts (the so-called plagues of Egypt) about which the Quran says, "And We sent on them flood, flying locusts, hopping, locusts, frogs, lice, blood-evidences clear. But instead of locusts, the imperial army has been attacked by swarms of flies (117)."

To be on the safe side, our author heaps praises on Aurangzeb - "His Majesty, ruler of the seven climes; Monarch of the Heavenly Throne; Caliph of the Times (88-137). Such terms, of course, had been used by

following poets and official historians for centuries past and meant nothing in particular. But the author is on theological dangerous ground when he declared Aurangzeb to be the "third to the Shaikhain (caliph Abu Bakar and Umar) in the sovereignty of the Caliphate."⁽¹⁾

(38) Elsewhere in a composition attributed to Abul Hasan, he declares Aurangzeb to be 'a sacred intelligence second only to the original wisdom (113)'⁽²⁾

Since the historical parts of the Waqqa-i have been re-written by Khafi Khan, we need not bother about them. But Khafi Khan says that he has ignored Nimat Khan's bold and insolent remarks, and these deserve our notice. They consist of the defence as well as criticism of Aurangzeb, both carefully veiled.

Since Aurangzeb could not get from Qazi Shaikhul Islam a fatwa (judgement) in favour of his attack on Bijapur and Golkonda, he ordered Shaikhul Islam to go to Haj. Later on when Qazi Abdullah suggested peace with Abul Hasan, he was forbidden the court. So our author composed the following verse-fragment (qita') to justify the holy war against Abul Hasan.

"Jihad and Ghuzwa (holy wars) are for the sake of the Faith; so come all religious minded Musalmans. Everyone in the fort is an idol-worshipper and the emperor has determined to slaughter Kafirs. "Why? Because Abul Hassan has plenty of diamonds, large valuable and excellent in colour. May be, he will make idols out of them and giving them the names of Manat, Lat, Bal, Wadda, Yaqus (i.e. the idols referred to by the Quran) revive their worship. But if the Imam (Aurangzeb) seizes these gems, he will use them

-
1. To the Sunnis, who believes in all the four Caliphs, this claim is impossible for any king. But to a Shia this would only mean that Aurangzeb was the third greatest usurper in the history of Islam.
 2. The Commentator says that the Original Wisdom means the Angel Gobriel.

for the purposes of the government. Further, if the minds of men are at peace about Islam and Kufr, why should they quarrel?

"If cornelian comes from Mekka, let it come. What harm if onyx is tied to the Brahman's thread. If there is ruby in Badakhshan, let it be. It is not difficult for the Franks to get precious stones."

The commentator clarifies the matter by the following postulates - (a) Aurangzeb's real object was the diamonds and precious stones of Abul Hasan, whom by a theological trickery he declared to be a kafir; (b) Aurangzeb acted as if the Quranic verse - 'To you your religion and to me mine' - had been cancelled; (c) lastly by way of joke the author hints that Aurangzeb applied the category of Islam and Kufr even to stones.

Our author's real criticism of Aurangzeb in the last section of his work (pp 122-135) is put in the mouth of a mad mystic.

When Ghairat Khan (or Izzat Khan) the commander of the artillery (Mir-i Atish) was captured by the enemy, it became necessary for some one to be appointed in his place. At forenoon the emperor appointed Salabat Khan (Powerful Khan) to the office and ordered him to be summoned. But the ancestors of Salabat had come from Khaf (Khawaf); so on getting the order, he began to think of the verbal conjugations of the Arabic word, Khafa (he was frightened). It was difficult to get a reply from him but ultimately he petitioned to this effect. "My ears can not bear the

sound of cannon-fire. 'God does not impose on any person a duty beyond his capacity,' the Quran has said. It will be against the emperor's kindness and mercy to impose on me the duty of going near the fort." On hearing this truthful reply, Aurangzeb appointed Salabat Khan commander of the artillery provided a Deputy (naib) could be found to conduct the work at the foot of the fort on his behalf so that Salabat may not have to see the battle-field.

Thereupon the nagibs (heralds) proclaimed in every lane "O servants of the court ! It has been decided to appoint Salabat Khan as commander of the artillery provided some one can be found to go to battle on his behalf. Anyone who is prepared to undertake this duty should immediately present himself at the court and personally affirm his acceptance so that the emperor may offer the Khilat to Salabat Khan."

This proclamation naturally provoked comments: 'Will the death of Salabat Khan be such a loss that another man should be selected to die in his place? High office nearness to the emperor and the jagir will go to Salabat and the trouble and dangers will go to his Deputy, etc.' The greater probability is that in accordance with the principle that 'men follow the religion of their rulers' people did not covet martyrdom as Deputy of Salabat Khan, but desired to attain salvation by prayers, religious rites and good deeds."

One of the emperor's heralds, who went through every city-quarter came across a mad mystic (muizub-i salik), and forgetting that there was no sanity in him, asked the question: 'If the deputy of Salabat Khan dies in battle,

will the reward of martyrdom go to the Deputy or to Salabat Khan; and in the second case, is it possible for a man who is living in this world also to be immortal with the martyrs in the next world?

The mad mystic replied: 'There can be no doubt about the immortality of martyrs, but this sort of immortality is not possible for a man living in this world because another man has died on his behalf; also if a man sacrifices his life for God, God will not permit another man to seize the reward due to him by force. But why do you ask me these obvious questions, when the basic problem concerns the nature of this conflict and the real question is as to which party will be rewarded or punished. God be praised, I am afraid that the truth may be apposite to our convictions and the other party may be right. For the Quran has declared: "If two groups of Musalmans fight, make peace between them; and if any of them (afterwards) rebels against the other, then fight against the group that rebels till it has submitted to the order of Allah'... Since the proofs of rebelling (against God) are clearly against us, the question of the reward of the officer or his deputy does not arise; the question is which of them will be punished."

The author; being a khanazad officer of the just court sent men to tell the mad mystic that he would be taken to the Department (mahkama) of Punishment and brought to sanity by its severities. "In these days of tensions and afflictions when all wise men have become mad" the mystic replied, "what point is there in bringing back one man to sanity." The author then threatened to obtain heavenly reward for himself by putting the mad mystic to

death for defying the imperial regulations that had declared Haiderabad to be a place for holy war (darul jihad). The mad mystic's reply came pat, "Every group is happy with what it has, the Quran has said, and ever since Haiderabad has been declared a place of holy war, the garrison has been knit more closely together in the hope of that reward (for martyrdom) to which there are no limits."

The author told the mad mystic that as he was suffering from ~~melancholia~~ (malikholia) he was not responsible for what he said, but offered to treat him as he had a knowledge of medical sciences. The mystic in his reply said that he was suffering from no such complaint, that he was not one of those mystics who 'forsook the world for the sake of the world and invited him to be true to his salt by placing his medical knowledge at the disposal of the man who needed it." (Upon this commentator remarks: This sentence hints at the fact that the emperor's attack on Abul Hasan was due to his obsession and melancholia; if he had been free from them, he would not have undertaken the invasion). But our author is not prepared to commit himself further and ends the discussion with the remark that the sayings of mad mystics are not worthy of consideration.

One of the main themes of our author is the suffering of the officer's and the men. He composed a gasida on the "Afflictions of the People" (Shahr ashub), describing the misfortunes of the followers of every profession (30-36). The following lines will give some idea of its contents.

"In this desolated land no one is in happy circumstances; men of merit are lying like gens in desolate corners. The poverty of the people has passed all limits...The soldier has nothing to eat except his sword and shield through he marches in the realm of contentment...The grocer reflects, 'Should I remain in this camp or go elsewhere', for nothing is left in his shop except his weights and balances. We have neither cash nor commodities nor brokers; the shopkeepers opens his shop only to sell himself... 'What has happened; I asked when the sounds of wailing came from a house. 'A guest has arrived,' was the answer. I heard the sounds of rejoicing and a neighbour informed me that one of the inmates had seen a bag of flour in his dreams...One man pays, ' O Lord make these Musalmans into Jewes, Hindus, Christians and Gabrs (Zoroastrians) so that they may at least ~~let~~ lend us money (on interest)." Another man weeps and says, ' O Lord call me to Thyself and send the angel of death to mankind (insan)."

Under these circumstances it was inevitable that the ordinary mansabdar should lose his initiative and courage. Our author after quoting the Quranic verse about the early muslims — "they are stern against the Kafirs and affectionate towards each other" — adds about his fellow-officers: "When ~~in~~ the enemy appears on any side, they do not ride forth against him, so that the enemy may disperse of his own accord and Musalmans of pure Faith may not have to wonder about(142)."

We have seen in Mamuri's work that as year followed year, the mansabdari system cracked and crumbled and Maratha domination over large parts of the Deccan was made possible.

CHAPTER VII

KHAFI KHAN

The Muntakhabul Lubab

(Edited for the B.R.A.S. by Moulvi Kabiruddin Ahmad
and Moulvi Ghulam Qadir.)

Mohammad Hashim Khafi Khan, later on known as Khafi Khan Nizamul Mulki, planned a history of medieval India in three volumes. The first volume, which has not survived, was devoted to the Sultans of Delhi till Ibrahim Lodi. The second volume, which has been printed by the Bengal Asiatic Society, is the most monumental work which we have in the Persian on the Mughal Empire covering the whole period from Babar to the fourteenth year of Mohammad Shah's reign (1723 A.D.) The Third Volume was intended to cover all the provincial dynasties, but the author apparently was only able to write on the Bahmani kingdom, the Sultanates that succeeded it and the Faruqi kings of Khandesh.⁽¹⁾

Khafi Khan insists on telling us repeatedly that he was not officially commissioned to do the work, 'that he had no wazir or amir to please.' It was only the desire to record correct facts that prompted him to undertake the work, his hope being that a correct record of historical facts would support the Ethical

-
1. In the printed text (B.R.A.S.) no number is given to the part on the Sultans of Delhi, which has not survived. Part I covers the period from Babur to Shah Jahan; Part II from the accession of Aurangzeb to the 14th year of Bahadur Shah; while part III is devoted to the Bahmanis, the Deccan Sultanates and the Faruqi kings.

principles he postulates. But whatever the author's intentions he has given us the best record for the condemnation of Aurangzeb's policy.

But first something must be said about the author's family and his own career. During the reign of Shah Jahan or earlier a group of families from Khawaf, a district of Khorasan, had migrated to India and obtained appointments as mansabdars either for military or revenue work. Khafi Khan (infra p. 207-8) while confessing that the inhabitants of Khawaf are crude and lack personality, says that they make up for it by their honesty, efficiency and loyalty to their salt.

When the War of Succession began, most of the Khawafi mansabdars (with the exception of our author's father) were in the service of Aurangzeb, and they determined to obtain his good will by their excellent service. Aurangzeb, according to Ma'muri, left the Subedari and diwani of Malwa in charge of Khwaja Kalan Khwafi (the husband of our author's mother's sister) and gave him the title of Kifayat Khan after the battle of Dharmat. The bravest of the Khwafi officers was Shaikh Mir, who died fighting for Aurangzeb at Deorai. Another Khawafi officer, Zainul Abidin Khan, the husband of our author's father's mother's sister, constructed the city of khajistah-Bunyard or Aurangabad during the Viceroyalty of Aurangzeb. Among the officer's of Aurangzeb, whose personal honesty he could testify, Mamuri, as we have seen, gives precedence to Aqil Khan Khwafi, entitled Amanat Khan.⁽¹⁾ Khafi Khan is certainly correct in saying that the Khawafis prospered more in

1. Mamuri, Aligarh Transcript, Vol. II, 285, and K.K., infra, pp. 137-8.

the reign of Aurangzeb that they had in the reign of anyother king. They were probably Sunnis; for in referring to the rise of Shaism in the Deccan Khafi Khan states; "A deep injury was inflicted on the correct creed of Imam-i Azam."⁽¹⁾

Khafi Khan forgets to give us the name of his father,⁽²⁾ but informs us that he was in the sergice of Murad Bakhsh. He was wounded at the battle of Samugarh and Khafi Khan quotes, on the authority of his father, a conversation between Shaikh Mir and Aurangzeb, which is not to the credit of either.⁽³⁾

Unlike the other officers of Murad, he did not enter the service of Aurangzeb but tried to devise means⁽⁴⁾ for rescuing Murad from the Gwalior fort. But after the execution of Murad, (Nov-Dec. 1661) he applied for service to Shahzada Shah Alam, who had been appointed Viceroy of the Deccan in succession to Shaista Khan (May, 1664). His first application was rejected. He then got the blessings of Shaikh Burhanuddin; his uncle, Zainul Abidin Khan, also recommended his case to Mustafa Khan, and he was⁽⁵⁾ appointed to a post before he could arrive.

Khafi Khan only at one place gives us some facts for guessing the date of his birth. He says that though 74 lunar years have passed since the death of the wazir, Sa'dullah Khan in 1066 A.H. (1656 A.D.), his descendants have been prosperous since then; he also adds that fifty-two years have passed since he attained to the age of discretion (hadd-i tamiz), i.e. the age at which a boy begins to understand the things around

1. Vol. III, p. 76.

2. There is no good reason for calling him Khawaja Mir Khawafi as Elliot does (Vol. VIII, p. 2071). See C.A.Storey, Persian Literature, History of India, p. 461 n).

3. *Infra*, Vol. II, pp. 148-9.

4. *Infra*, Vol. II, pp. 311-313.

5. K.K.Vol. II, pp. 554-5.

him. By taking the age of discretion as 14, Mr. H. Beveridge concludes that he was born about 1074 H (1663-1664 A.D.) He probably died in 1731 or 1732.⁽¹⁾ How exactly the Muntakhabul Lubab was written we do not know. But a good part of it could only have been written after the work of Mamuri, which comes up to the death of Aurangzeb, had fallen into Khafi Khan's hands. Also interspersed through his work are passages which describe the condition at the time of his writing - the conditions of India under Mohammad Shah. He seems to have had no government employment after his dismissal by Saiyyid Husain Ali Khan in 1719, and may have devoted all his energies thereafter to his history.

During the fifty-two years or more in which Khafi Khan observed the political and economic conditions of India, the two great pillars of the Mughal Empire - the mansabdari organization and the land-revenue system -- completely collapsed. There was also an inevitable degeneration of character. An extensive empire like India can only be preserved if the machinery of government is in competent hands. Khafi Khan repeatedly expresses his regret at the degeneration of the character of the mansabdars and the decrease in the revenue of the government. He declares that it was impossible to defend India from an invasion from the north-west.⁽²⁾ He did not fortunately for himself, live to see the day when Nadir Shah was able to sack Delhi after the battle of Karnal in 1739.

-
1. C.A.Storey, P. 461, quoting Encyclopaedia of Islam.
 2. K.K. Vol. II. infra, pp. 41-42.

Though according to the traditions of the day, other duties were also assigned to him, Khafi Khan was by training a revenue officer or amil. He has left us a remarkable confession of his own conduct. "The author", he writes "has carefully observed that the objects of a tyrant are never fulfilled, that the sons and descendants of tyrants never prosper or attain their desire, and that those who start novelties (ibidat) for causing sufferings to mankind have the evil finger pointed at them and suffer for their sins here below. Further, their descendants come to an end in such poverty and bad reputation that describing their condition with one's pen would mean wailing over one's own condition. God be praised ! Though the author from his earliest days has passed his life in sinful affairs and wasted his time in services that lead to misfortunes and considers himself among the greatest objects of Divine wrath, nevertheless he has never assented to inflicting such misfortunes on others as in popular parlance are considered tyrannical. It is considered wicked by all religions to hold God falsely as one's witness. Thus remembering the grandeur of God, I confess that till the thirty-second year of Aurangzeb's reign I did not restrain my wicked mind and appropriated plenty of money belonging to the emperor which was served as a feast owing to the plunder of the Deccan. But even then I was careful not to push matters to an extent that in popular parlance I may be accused of being tyrannical. Thereafter, owing to certain circumstances the relation ~~me~~ of which would mean revealing one's own black face, I made a compact with my God that so far as possible

I would strive with my heart and soul to restrain my wicked mind from consuming, misappropriating and destroying the property of Musalmans. The work of a caretaker of dogs and a shepherd of pigs is higher in (moral) dignity than that of a revenue collector. Although I tried my best to avoid the bad popular reputation that attaches to the office of a revenue collector and strove hard to be honest, so that I may not be accused of plundering and exacting like other doomed revenue officers, still since such good fortune is the result of God's grace, I was unable to attain it.⁽¹⁾

As to the end of the descendants of the wicked, Khafi Khan observes with reference to the overthrow of Farrukh Siyar; " It is impossible for the pen to describe how jewels were seized and the honour (of the Mughal princesses) was lost. No royal family of the past has suffered so much as the descendants of Timur, who have lost their lives, their reputations and the honour of their women.⁽²⁾ " But the worse was still to come.

But so far as Khafi Khan's conscience was concerned, he naturally failed to see the real authors of his moral disaster - Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb. Unable to defeat the armies of Bijapur and Golkonda in a 'Cossack Warfare' (jung-i-qazzagi), Shah Jahan started the programme of destroying the fields,

1. K.K. Vol II. p 672-3

2. K.K. Vol. II. p 814.

(1)

hamlets and townships of the helpless peasantry. The programme was bound to succeed, though under the thoroughly incompetent military command of Aurangzeb it took a very long time. The Alamgir Namah insists that the real object of Jai Singh's invasion was not the capture of Bijapur city but the desolation of the countryside. (2)

The havoc wrought by Dilir Khan during his Deccan Viceroyalty was not known to Khafi Khan in detail, but is well described by Sir Jadunath . Dilir developed murderous tendencies of an insane type and his friend, Mamuri, prefers not to refer to him again. Any way a

-
1. Thus with reference to the behaviour of the Mughal Soldiers in Shah Jahan's Deccan invasion of 1630-1, Khafi Khan states: "Wherever they came across cultivated lands and flourishing fields, they destroyed them in the twinkling of an eye, and ploughed the land up again with the hooves of their horses. Houses, towns, and flourishing markets were so effectively desolated that the ground could be used for cultivating crops. Nothing was left undone in capturing the peasantry (raiyyat) - men and women, old and young - and despatching them to the realm of non-existence. In short the ~~pregre~~ prosperous mahals of the Bijapur were so changed in appearance that they were left without even a name." (K.K. Vol. II, p 466)

The manner in which Khan-i Dauran carried out Shah Jahan's order in 1635 A.D. is thus described. "Wherever an inhabited place came in sight, it was destroyed by the soldiers in the twinkling of an eye. Wherever they attacked, they left no trace of any habitation. When they came to a place, they seized everything that was there, not leaving even the minimum cloth for covering the private parts. Thus in three or four days fifty flourishing cities and villages were plundered." (Vol. I, p. 524).

Our real authority for these wholesale and planned murders of innocent men, women and children is not Khafi Khan but his predecessor, Sadiq Khan, who was loyal to Shah Jahan. The official histories of Shah Jahan also speak in the same strain. No tears need be shed on the last years of Shah Jahan; he sowed what he had reaped. But an Indian Empire, which could adopt such hideous methods, had also outlived its utility.

2. Alamgir Namah, p. 913.

plunder-feast was spread for the Mughal officers in the Deccan. They were neither better nor worse, from the view-point of the peasantry, than the Maratha freebooters who followed them, but since they were first in the field, they could gobble up more.

But Aurangzeb failed in the south and the Marathas began to harass the old provinces of the empire. At the same time the number of the mansabdars kept increasing while their salaries decreased. Prosperous cities like Ahmadabad were completely ruined. Ultimately, to make up for revenues of the lost and desolated provinces, Raja Ratan Chand the peshkar of Saiyyid Abdullah, overthrew the bandobast of Todar Mal and gave the Khalsa-land to revenue-farmers on such conditions as he thought fit. All security was gone.

After giving an account of the reforms of Todar Mal, Khafi Khan observes: "It is obvious to wise men with experience that at present in accordance with the circumstances of the time, all regard for the consequences of political affairs, promoting the condition of the raiyyat, planting new habitations and increasing the land revenue have totally disappeared. The agents of the contractors, who have paid cash in advance to the Durbar, go to the mahals and are a torture to the revenue-paying peasantry. They have no regard either for the prosperity of the country or the distressing condition of the tenants. Further as they have no reliance (on the renewal of their contract) for the next year, or even for its continuance for the whole of the current year, they sell in advance the revenue for both the seasons. It is an act of Godliness on their part if they confine themselves to this

tyranny and do not sell the bullocks and carts (of the peasants), which are the basis of agriculture, or, in the attempt to compensate themselves for the expenditure incurred by them at the Durbar, the payment of the salaries of the soldiers employed for the collection of the revenue (Seh-bandī) and the loss incurred by them on their contract, they do not sell away the remaining possessions of the peasants, including their fruit-bearing trees and the land which is their hereditary and personal property. The plunder and destruction by the mischief-makers of the region (the Marathas) adds to the desolation of the country and the distress of the peasantry.

"It is owing to this that plots of ten karohs and twenty karohs of arable land remain uncultivated; and in place of cultivated fields, thorny trees scratch the skirts of the travellers and wound the hearts of the helpless jagirdars. So many prosperous parganas and towns have been so effectively destroyed by criminal officers that tigers and other carnivorous animals live there now. So many villages are in ruins without a lighted lamp that the road-side is no longer considered to be inhabited. Though owing to the wickedness of the human mind and the needs of this age of distress, the desolation of the country increases more and more everyday, the raiyyat is ground down by the cruelty of the wicked amils (tax-gatherers), and the jagirdars have been caught in misfortunes of the sighs of the peasantry, yet the tyranny and cruelty of Godless officers has reached an extent that even describing a fraction of it will take me away from my purpose."

"And in case one of the revenue collectors (ummal) fearing the Day of Judgment and in opposition to the customary behaviour of the other hard-hearted officers, does not consider severity and cruelty to be the main functions of the revenue officer and deems mercy on the lives of the tenants, improving the circumstances of the tax-paying raiyyat, and the increase of revenue from year to year to be conducive to his own welfare and the welfare of his sons, the people of this generation will consider him blameworthy and include him in the list of fools. And if, God forbid, he is transferred before the end of the year - as has often happened to the writer of these pages - he is ruined financially by having to pay the salaries of soldiers employed by him for the collection of the revenue and meeting other charges while his neighbours rejoice at his misfortunes ! May God, out of regard for the Prophet and his family, keep ⁽¹⁾ all his sinful creatures under His protection."

And again: "It is necessary to reflect with care that in those (past) fortunate days, the object of people was heavenly reward, and their acts were blessed. Unlike these days, when matters have come to such a pass that people devote all their energies to ruining each other's prosperity and good reputation. People of wealth and affluence have effectually closed their doors on the face of the needy - as if they were wielding an axe to draw the gifts of God towards themselves and scratching the hearts of the distressed. Consequently, all fruit-bearing trees in the orchards and shade-giving trees by the road sides, which had been

planted owing to the efforts of the virtuous men of the past and were a source of comfort to travellers and a beauty for the towns, villages and suburbs of the houses, have, owing to the tyranny of the officer's, been cut down by the cruel saws of the soldiers in order to feed the cattle or build houses or light the kitchen fires. No trace of any tree is left by the side of most roads and the suburbs of many habitations. Similarly the stones and bricks of inns, mansoleums and mosques which had been constructed by their founders for pious purposes, ⁽¹⁾ are used by them for the construction of baths and new buildings out of the money they have obtained by cruelty and corruption, but they are left unfinished."

Though contemporary observers, like Mamuri, were of the opinion that the irretrievable decline of the Mughal empire began when Aurangzeb decided to proceed to the Deccan to undertake a political and military task for which he was thoroughly unfitted, still it is pleasant to turn from the harrowing conditions of post-Aurangzeb period to the more stable conditions of half-a-century earlier, when Khafi Khan began his career.

Our author had the opportunity of seeing a good part of India. He never went to Bihar, Bengal, Peshawar or Kabul. Nevertheless he saw a lot of the country with observant eyes. It is difficult to piece together his various posts in chronological order, but he speaks with confidence as if he knew the whole country. Thus in his account of the Faruqi Kings, he remarks: "The author of this history has visited the chawks (main

1. The grammar of the text here leaves much to be described but I have tried to interpret it according to the meaning of the author, which is clear enough.

markets) of the eleven subahs of the Deccan and of Shah Jahanabad till Lahore, but he did not find any of them so wide as the chauk of Burhanpur.⁽¹⁾ He liked mixing with people of different communities - the Bhoras and Parsis of Surat and Ahmadabad, Marathas, Rajputs and the English and the Portugese - but his attempt to be a student of comparative religion often failed on account of his mental prepossessions and insufficient knowledge. Thus his exposition of the creed of the Indian Bherah community is both brief and incorrect, for example, his assertion that they believe Ismail to be the thirteenth Imam is wrong.⁽²⁾ He was pleased to find that the English, though they are also Christians have no idols in their churches, but though he claims to have discussed matters with English scholars, he had probably no very clear idea of the distinction between Roman C^hatholicism and Protestantism or of the various nations of Europe. In declaring that Shivaji, in spite of being a plunderer, developed all other virtues, specially religious tolerance and regard for the honour of both Muslim and Maratha women, he is merely quoting Mamuri. He had an opportunity of associating with the officers of the Rana of Mewar, but they failed to impress him.⁽³⁾

Sir Jadunath accuses Khafi Khan of being 'gossipy.' The reasons which prevented Sir Jadunath from utilising Khafi Khan's history as a whole have ceased to be valid after the discovery of the works of Sadiq Khan and Mamuri.

-
1. K.K., Vol. I, p. 593.
 2. K.K., Vol. I, p. 469.
 3. K.K., Vol. II, p. 678.

Still Khafi Khan sometimes relied on doubtful authorities. Thus he tells us that in 1107 H (1695-6 A.D.) he met a durwesh, named Mirza Abid, aged 105, who had come from Iran in the same caravan as Itimaduddaulah. Our author had long conversations with the aged durwesh, deposited what he heard from him in the 'casket of his memory' and used the facts he had heard from Mirza Abid in writing the history of Jahangir's reign along with the three Jahangir Namahs.⁽¹⁾ The stories he tells us about Abdul Wahhab Khandeshi are borrowed from Saʿdiq Khan.⁽²⁾ In view of the Dingal letters discovered by Sir Jadunath, we have no alternative but to conclude that both Mamuri and Khafi Khan were deceived by a Surat Vaid, who told them that he had built his haveli from the sale of jewels given to him by Shivaji at Banaras.⁽³⁾ Still Khafi Khan's attitude is scientific. He is not prepared to make statements which human reason and experience rejects, and within the limits of his capacity, he tried to base his statements on official records or on the statements of reliable witnesses. Where he makes statements on hearsay only, he generally confesses⁽⁴⁾ that he is doing so.

Khafi Khan tells us that his teacher was Mir Saiyyid Mohammad, an incomparable mathematician, who had survived from the time of Jahangir. Nothing else is known about Saiyyid Mohammad, but Khafi Khan speaks with confidence about matters appertaining to astronomy and the calendar. Khafi Khan says that he had lived in

1. K.K., Vol. I, p. 248.

2. Infra, Vol. III, (Translation), pp. 31-34.

3. Infra, Vol. II (Translation), pp. 401-403.

4. For example, towards the end of his book (Vol. II, pp. 963-973), our author gives a harrowing account of the destruction of Ahmadabad and Gujrat, but says that his account is based on what he had repeatedly heard.

Baglana for two years, but does not specify the time. He was probably there with his father and before he entered service. He has little to add to what Mamuri (1) says about Baglana. Khafi Khan was well-connected among the Khanazad mansabdars, and he probably obtained service about the age of eighteen, when Aurangzeb moved to the Deccan. He says he was sent with the Mughal army which besieged Ramsej in 1682-3, but was unable to do anything in face of the Maratha qiladar and his wooden (2) guns. He was also sent with Shahzada Muazzam in the (3) futile Ram-Darrah or Ramghat campaign. (1683-84).

Thereafter Khafi Khan tells us nothing of himself directly till the fall of Golkonda. But he had apparently risen high enough to be able to associate with the great officers of the land. Two of them deserve special mention - Mohammad Murad Saadat Khan, son of the late Murshid Quli Khan, (who had died at the battle of Dharmat) and Abdul Razzaq Lari Mustafá Khan, whom Aurangzeb insisted on taking into service though he had fought for Abul Hasan to the last. He gives us an account of their careers on the basis of what they told him; Mamuri had already done this, but Khafi Khan was able to give more details. Abdul Razzaq Lari, it seems, was (4) put in charge of Konkan sometimes between 1191 and 1195

-
1. Infra, Vol. II, (Translation), p. 31
 2. Infra, Vol. II, (Translation), pp. 491-495.
 3. Infra, Vol. II (Translation), pp. 503-506, in the twenty seventh regnal year. Bayacurios oversight he describes the Ram-Darrah campaign in the twenty fifth regnal year also.
 4. C.A. Storey, p. 463.

with Rahiri as his headquarters. Our author says he lived in the haveli Shivaji had constructed near the fort and repeats the difference in the behaviour of Shivaji and Sambhaji towards the women who came to fetch water from the well (bawli) ⁽¹⁾ He also met Saidi Yaqut who assured him that Shivaji had been awakened by the explosion of the gunpowder magazine at Danda-Rajpuri, ⁽²⁾ when the fort was reconquered by Saidi Yaqut. It was owing to his close association with Abdur Razzaq Lari that Khafi Khan visited Bombay. The account of his visit has been translated by Elliot and Dowson (Vol. VII, pp. 351-4)

The closing chapter of Aurangzeb's career is his struggle with the Marathas after the execution of Sambhaji (1689) in the course of which the empire gradually collapsed. "Divine destiny," says Khafi Khan "had ordered that the Maratha power in the Deccan would not be uprooted and that the emperor was to spend the rest of his life in campaigns and sieges." ⁽³⁾ Our author says that "the chief reason for the prolongation of the struggle was the treason and lack of cooperation among the officers, so that a journey of two days took twelve days." ⁽⁴⁾ The fifth volume of Sir Jadunath's classical work is devoted to this period (1689-1709). We do not know to what services Khafi Khan was appointed. But when after living for some four years at the camp of Islam-puri, Aurangzeb very unwisely decided to set out to conquer the Maratha forts. Khafi Khan must have been

-
1. K.K., Vol. II, pp. 390-1.
 2. Infra, Vol. II, (Translation), p. 413.
 3. K.K., Vol. II, p. 389.
 4. K.K., Vol. II, p. 488.

with the main camp. It may be doubted if any conquering army in India, or anywhere, has had to face such distress and stravation as the army of Aurangzeb from the march to Satara to the capture of Wagingera. Khafi Khan follows Mamuri, but his graphic account of the sufferings of the imperial army is based on what he himself saw and went through.

At the time of Aurangzeb's death, Mohammad Murad (Saadat Khan) and Khafi Khan were jointly working as news-writer of the whole province of Ahmadabad and as faujdars of the Sarkars of T hasrah⁽¹⁾ and Godra; Shahzada Bidar Bakht son of Azam was the governor of the province. 'It was Murad's duty as the senior partner to convey the news of Aurangzeb's death to Bidar Bakht, who talked as if a war of succession was inevitable. We do not know when Khafi Khan went over to the winning side, but he was present at Khan Bakhsh's defeat near Haiderabad. "The author of these pages was present at the battles. He counted the corpses of those who had died fighting for Kam Bakhsh - they were sixty-two in number."⁽²⁾ Bahadur Shah's claim to be a Saiyyid only caused amusement, but his order that Hazrat Ali should be declared Wasiullah (executor of the Prophet's will) led to riots in many mosques in 1121 H. (1709-10). Khafi Khan says that he had come to Ahmadabad just then, but he tried to collect such facts as he could. Later in the same year, Mohammad Hashim, the grandson of the Shah of Iran, visited India. Ghaziuddin Khan Firoz Jung, who was then governor of Ahmadabad, appointed Khafi Khan as host-officer to the Persian prince on his

-
1. C.A.Storey (p. 464) says Thasrah; Thaneswar in the printed Persian text is obviously incorrect.
 2. K.K., Vol. II, p. 624.

his own behalf while one Kokah Khan was appointed as host-officer on behalf of the emperor. It was on this occasion that our author met the officers of the Rana, but owing to urgent revenue affairs he had soon to return to the army.

During Bahadur Shah's reign of four years and two months, the downward trend of affairs continued. The emperor gave the same title to different mansabdars and the dignity attached to mansabs, drums, surpeches, elephants, etc. completely vanished. "Ikhlas Khan Jadidul Islam drew the attention of the Qazir (Jumlatul Mulk) to the fact that the appointments and promotions of the emperor would really lead to the unemployment of the mansabdars, for the real income of the State was not even a fraction of the proposed expenditure. His suggestion was that the wazir should personally scrutinise every case before sanctioning an appointment or promotion; but the wazir was not prepared for the unpopularity that would result from such work, and when Ikhlas Khan was asked to do the work himself, he offered to resign. Ultimately the duty of scrutinising and sanctioning all papers appertaining to appointments and promotions of mansabdars as well as daily wages was assigned to Mohammad Saqi Mustaid Khan, who was believed to be a strong and honest man. But his hands were sometimes forced or else papers were taken to the emperor without reference to him. 'In consequences the signature of the emperor became a thing of no value.' His Majesty, would say to his officers that he had no alternative but to sanction applications; still his officers should do what they thought best. (1) Some thirteen crore of rupees left by

Aurangzeb were spent away, and the expenditure of the imperial palaces was met by the daily allowance received⁽¹⁾ from Shahzada Azimush Shan.

In the faction-fights and intrigues that were to be the chief feature of Delhi for decades to come, all groups destroyed each other in turn. The safest course for a government officer was not to pledge himself too deeply to any faction and to leave the path of retreat open. This, our author, seems to have done. He was left unharmed by the wars between the sons of Bahadur Shah and by the overthrow of Jahandar Shah by Farrukh Siyar and the Saiyyid Brothers. But he had served under the late Feroz Jung, and when Feroz Jung's son, Chan-Qalich Khan Nizamul Mulk Fath Jung was appointed Viceroy of the Deccan in 1124H (1712-13), he appointed Khafi Khan as his Diwan. This is the highest office our author was destined to attain and it is probably for this reason that he called himself 'Nizamul Mulki.' But Husain Ali Khan, the younger Saiyyid Brother, had decided that the Deccan was to his exclusive domain while he and his brother, Saiyyid Abdullah, governed the rest of the empire in the name of Farrukh Siyair. So Husain Ali Khan was appointed viceroy of the Deccan and an order was sent summoning Nizamul Mulk from Aurangabad. He had no alternative but to obey and started for Delhi in Safar, 1125 H. (Feb. 1713). Husain Ali Khan realised that there could be no security for him as Viceroy of the Deccan without an understanding with the Marathas. So he made a treaty with Sahu and Balaji Vishwanath granting them chauth and Surdeshmukhi. The working of the treaty has been explained and criticised by Khaif Khan, who was then in the Deccan.

1. K.K., Vol. II, p. 684.

Husain Ali kept dismissing the imperial officers owing to the charges brought against them by interested persons and in order to make money out of new appointments. About himself, Khafi Khan says that after three years of grief and affliction he had gone from the Deccan to the imperial court and obtained an appointment as revenue officer and fauidar of the Khalsa mahal of Mustafabad in the district of Burhanpur, which the officers of the adopted son of Husain Ali Khan had desolated. He obtained the assent of Hussain Ali to the imperial order after putting himself under great obligation and spent money in collecting peasants and enrolling soldiers (Seh bandi) to look after the land. But Husain Ali Khan decided to march north against Farrukh Siyar and demanded twenty thousand rupees from Khafi Khan towards the expenses of his artillery. But as Khafi Khan had not been able to collect revenue for even his first autumnal crop, there was delay on his part in providing the money. Husain Ali took the money he needed from another person and dismissed our author. "It is impossible to describe my grief and affliction owing to demands based on accounts - and also beyond account - of the Marathas who had obtained supremacy over all (Mughal) officers and accountants."⁽¹⁾

During the rest of the book Khafi Khan writes like a man who is living at Delhi and has difficulties in getting correct information about the provinces. When Nizamul Mulk, after being appointed governor of Malwa, began to conquer the Deccan provinces from the officer's

1. K.K., Vol. II, p. 798.

of Husain Ali Khan, he did not call Khafi Khan to his side. On the other hand Khafi Khan repeatedly refers to what he had personally heard from Saiyyid Abdullan. It was impossible to give a good certificate to the Saiyyid Brothers, but Khafi Khan notes a few points in their favour.

Our author gives a fairly detailed account of the Sikh revolution; he saw the Sikhs who were slaughtered in Delhi in 1126H (1714 A.D.) but like most contemporary Muslims he did not understand the Sikh creed, though he could not help admiring the courage of its followers. In 1132 H (1720 A.D.) he rode round to see the havoc caused by the earth quake at Delhi; three towers of Fathpuri mosque had fallen down and about twelve men had been killed. When he brought his history to a close in the fourteenth regnal year of Mohammad Shah, he had probably passed his seventieth year.

...

CHAPTER VIII

KHAIFI KHAN'S DEBT TO SADIQ KHAN AND MA'MURI

The great credit of discovering the works of Sadiq Khan and Mamuri (bound up as one book) in the Rampur Library belongs to Professor Sri Ram Sharma, one of our leading medieval scholars. In his well-known Bibliography of Mughal India, Professor Sharma writes:-

"The place of honour among the chronicles of Aurangzeb's reign has a far been occupied by Khaif Khan's Muntakhabul Lubab. He has been wearing a triple crown as an historian. His love of history and the sacrifices he was prepared to make in its cause are, it is said, proved by his facing the wrath of Aurangzeb rather than abandon his work. His impartiality is borne out by his occasional flings at Aurangzeb and his policy. His unique place among the historians of Mughal India is assured by his compiling an account of the entire reign of Aurangzeb, besides the history of the earlier Muslim rulers of India.

"But a critical examination of the history of Alamgir proves him to be one of the biggest imposters among historians. He nowhere mentions himself that he went on compiling an account of Aurangzeb's during the life-time of the emperor. He refers to the Ma-asir-i Alamgiri of Mustaid Khan, which was compiled after the death of Aurangzeb. He claims to have examined Rai Bindraban's Lubbut-Tawarikh, which was not written earlier than 1694. He speaks of the Alamgir Nama of Mohammad Kazim which closes with the tenth year of

(1)
Aurangzeb's reign. To have used Ma-asir-i Alamgiri and found out its defects, Khafi Khan could not have written his history during Aurangzeb's time. In another place he gives an indication of the date of composition. While describing the carrying off of Ajit Singh, son of Maharaja Jaswant Singh from Delhi, Khafi Khan adds that Aurangzeb went on describing him as an impostory - till he was married to a daughter (2) of the Rana of Udaipur. Obviously this could not have been written before this marriage, which could not have taken place earlier than the nineties of the seventeenth century. While narrating the accounts of Mohammad Murad Bakhsh, Khafi Khan claims to describe the events as detailed to him by his father, who was a trusted servant of Murad Bakhsh, implying thereby that he himself had no personal knowledge of the events. In fact Khafi Khan began the writing of his book in the year 1030 H (1717) as he himself seems (3) to indicate in the introduction to the first volume and completed it in 1045 H (1732) to which date he brings down his narrative in the second volume. Thus even according to our author the book was begun ten (4) years after the death of Aurangzeb; all the pains the author had to take concerned collecting materials from such sources as he could then command.

-
1. K.K., Vol. II, 212 (Professor Sharma).
 2. K.K., Vol. II, 260. This addition is not to be found in Abul Fazl. See also infra, Vol. II, (Translation), 458n.
 3. Vol. I, p. 2.
 4. Even Professor Dowson's addition to Sir H.M. Elliott's note on Khafi Khan (Elliot and Dowson, Vol. II, p. 209) wrongly asserts that Khafi Khan compiled an account of the reign of Aurangzeb during the Emperor's life-time and kept it suppressed (Professor Sharma).

"An examination of this MS proves that Khafi Khan incorporated it almost word by word in his own history; where he differs from its text, it is usually in suppressing the personal part played by Abul Fazl in various affairs. Not only is the prose narrative a copy of the account written by Abul Fazl, but the verses used by both to embellish their works are almost the same. There seems no reason to doubt that the original account of Aurangzeb's reign, which Khafi Khan subsequently made his own, was written by Abul Fazl. It covers p. 378 to p 733 of the Rampur MS. It closes with the death of Aurangzeb, short of the account of the burial which Khafi Khan gives. The work comes to an end with verses found on p. 549 of Khafi Khan, Volume II.

"It may be suggested that our author may have copied Khafi Khan's account of the reign. This is impossible. To have been able to use Khafi Khan's history, which was completed in 1732, our author must have lived at least more than 105 years. During the War of Succession he was raised to the command of 1,500. To have attained to that rank, he must have been about 30 at least. Copies of Khafi Khan's history could not have become common till some time after its completion in 1732. To have copied it then, and that upto the account of Aurangzeb's death, suppressing the account of Aurangzeb's burial would seem unreasonable. To suppose that just as Khafi Khan used Sadiq Khan's Shah Jahan Nama, he may have used, Abul Fazl's annals of Aurangzeb's reign is more reasonable. A writer of a history of

"Though he has named some of these works, he has scrupulously avoided mentioning an author, whose writings he used most. This is another historian of Aurangzeb, Abul Fazl. Khafi Khan has purloined his history of Aurangzeb almost verbatim. Unfortunately, the only two extant copies of this work are found bound up with a history of the reign of Shah Jahan, Shah Jahan Namah of Sadiq Khan. One of these copies belonged to Sir Henry Elliot, Professor Dowson, who examined it, rightly came to the conclusion that the account of the reign it contained, could not have been written by Sadiq Khan. He dismisses the matter there without probably examining the account itself in detail, as it seemed to him to be a copy of Khafi Khan with only slight variations. ⁽¹⁾ The other copy of this work is bound up with a modern manuscript of the Shah Jahan Namah of Sadiq Khan in the State Library, Rampur (India). An analysis of the work revealed the fact that though it seemed to be a copy of Khafi Khan, it claims an author of its own, Abdul Fazl. ⁽²⁾ The author's name is mentioned in several places. We also get information about the important places he filled in the reign of Aurangzeb. He is further mentioned in the Alamgir Namah and the first volume of Khafi Khan. ⁽³⁾ From all these sources we learn that he accompanied Aurangzeb from Burhanpur when he started for the purpose of disputing succession to Shah Jahan's Empire. He was present at the battle

-
1. Elliot and Dowson, Vol. VII, p. 133(Sharma)
 2. Rampur MS. p. 577.
 3. These references are to Mamur Khan and not to our author. (K.K., Vol. I, p. 747).

of Dharmat, when he was promoted to the command of
 1,500.⁽¹⁾ Early in Aurangzeb's reign he seems to have
 been appointed Dharagha -i Bayutat, which office he
 occupied for thirty years till the thirty-sixth year
 of Aurangzeb's reign.⁽²⁾ Towards the end of the year
 25, he was appointed Waga-i Navis of Burhanpur to hold
 it along with his old appointment as a Mir-i Saman.⁽³⁾
 In the year 36 of Aurangzeb's reign, he was appointed
Mir-i Bahr. He seems either to have continued in
 the Department of Bayutat or was again reverted
~~there~~ thereto, as we find him visiting the army
 besieging Panhala with certain important papers in the
 year 44.⁽⁴⁾ In the year 46 he was employed as a
 negotiator on behalf of the besieging Mughal commander
 to settle terms of surrender with Parma Nana, the
 commander of the fort of Khelna, which they were
 besieging. He seems to have survived Aurangzeb.

"The author mentions certain events which he
 himself witnessed. He was present in Delhi when the
 Hindus from the city and the neighbouring places
 gathered together for the purpose of holding a demons-
 tration of protest against the imposition of the Jazia
 Earlier still he saw the musicians of Delhi carry the
 bier of music to the burial ground, when Aurangzeb
 banished them from the court.

-
1. These facts (K.K., Vol. I, p. 747 and Alangir
 Namah, p. 53,77) also refer to Mamur Khan. But
 the remaining facts enumerated by Professor
 Sharma in this paragraph are correct with reference
 to our author, Abdul Fazl Mamuri.
 2. Abul Fazl, History of the reign of Aurangzeb,
 MS. p. 653. (Sharma)
 3. Rampur MSS. p. 548 (Sharma).
 4. Rampur MS, p. 699 (Sharma).

Mughal India upto his own times is more likely to use a work on a particular reign, than a writer on the reign of one emperor to lift it from a universal history. The internal evidence of the MS. makes it possible for Khafi Khan to have used a work which might have been compiled by a contemporary of Aurangzeb. To purloin Khafi Khan's work and add to its account his own participation in certain events seems impossible and unlikely for Abul Fazl. The balance of plagiarism is turned against Khafi Khan when we remember that his account of Shah Jahan's reign is also indebted to another contemporary work. This seems to have been Khafi Khan's usual method of writing history.

"The fact that what we have known as Khafi Khan's account of Aurangzeb's reign turns out to be written by an important public servant of Aurangzeb increases its value. It ceases to be the compilation of an historian, who with difficulty ascertained the truth some years after the passage of these events. It becomes the work of a man who long participated in many public events, and who, as news-writer and Darogha Bayutat, had abundant opportunities of learning the true account of many important public events. It becomes an important document of Aurangzeb's reign precisely because it ceases to be Khafi Khan's work. (pp. 51-58)

Sir Jadunath Sarkar in his Foreword to Professor S.R.Sharma's work remarks: "His exposure of the wholesale plagiarism by Khafi Khan opens a new line of study in Mughal historical bibliography and deserves

the fullest investigation. It is a discovery of first rate interest."

I have quoted Professor S.R.Sharma at length because his discovery is of great value; the charge of plagiarism against Khafi Khan is substantially correct, though Professor Sharma has not worked out the relation of Khafi Khan with the works of Sadiq Khan and Mamuri in detail. But first it is necessary to remove some errors.⁽¹⁾ In his account of Aurangzeb's attack on Haiderabad and Golkenda, Sadiq Khan refers to one of his officers, Mir Abul Fazl Mamuri; Khafi Khan has bodily copied the whole of Sadiq Khan's description of the campaign and has also referred to him. He, later on, got a mansab of 1,500 and the title of Mamur Khan. But he was killed by Najabat Khan a few days before the celebration of Aurangzeb's forty-first solar year (Nov. 1659)⁽¹⁾ He does not concern us. The author of the work on which Khafi Khan's account of Aurangzeb is based also calls himself Abul Fazl Mamuri (without the 'Mir'); but he refers to himself by name only once (109a) Khafi Khan takes every care to eliminate all references to Abul Fazl Mamuri. Abul Fazl is not an uncommon name and several mansabdars of the period had the surname of Mamuri. (2) As to the relative ages of Khafi Khan and Mamuri, Mamuri refers to the fact that he was in service at the burial of music, which took place in the eleventh regnal year (Feb. 1668-9).

1. K.K., Vol. II, p. 176 (Translation); pp. 46-47 (Persian text).

Khafi Khan, born in 1663-4, must have been only five or six years at the time. It would be safe to assume that Mamuri was fifteen or twenty years older.

(3) Khafi Khan, as Professor S.R.Sharma correctly points out, began writing his book in 1717 and finished it in 1732. He claims two virtues for himself; first he was devoted to history as a science and secondly he was not writing for any wazir or amir. But he never claims that he was writing a history of Aurangzeb during Aurangzeb's life-time and in spite of the emperor's wishes. Aurangzeb had ordered Mohammad Kazim to stop his official history after the tenth regnal year. May be, he did not like his officers writing the history of his reign when he had neither the time nor the inclination to see what they had written. Still two Hindu writers, Bhim Sen and Ishwar Das Nagar, who were junior officers, seem to have written their histories during Aurangzeb's life-time; on the other hand Aqil Khan Razi and Nimat Khan-i Ali have not put their names in their works. In any case Khafi Khan took his title from the city of Khwaf; he seems to have prepared no notes, records, etc. during Aurangzeb's reign. He says at various places that he assigned what he saw or learnt to the 'casket of his memory.'

Still Khafi Khan cannot but be condemned for the fact that he barrowed largely from the works of Sadiq Khan and Mamuri without acknowledging his debt to them. This increases the value of his work, but greatly decreases our estimation of his character.

We have to imagine a man of fifty-five, who is unwilling or unable to find any paid work as a revenue collector. But he has worked for years as a news-writer and developed his own style of prose. He plans to write a history of the middle ages and asks book-sellers and friends for material. So far as well-known works like Farishta, Babur's Memoirs, Jahangir's Autobiography, etc. are concerned, he has no difficulty in finding them and unhesitatingly acknowledges his debt to them. He probably could not find Mustaid Khan's Ma-asir-i Alamgiri that book would at least have helped him about the sequence of events and dates. The copies of the three official histories of Shah Jahan - Qazwini, Lahori, and Waris - were easy to obtain, but summarizing them was a bother and would not have added much to the value of his work. But he succeeded in finding a history of Shah Jahan written by Sadiq Khan, the nephew of Jafar Khan, on the basis of what he had seen, the reports that had been brought to the emperor in his presence, the papers that had passed through his hands and his conversation with officers to whom important duties had been assigned. A complete copy of Sadiq Khan's work - the same as British Museum OR MSS 174 - was apparently not easy to get; in the manuscript Khafi Khan obtained (it would be safe to presume) the work of Sadiq Khan had been continued by Abul Fazl Mamuri up to the time of Aurangzeb's death. Khafi Khan calculated that he could appropriate (or rather misappropriate) both the works without being found out.

But the two works differed in character.

Sadiq Khan's Badshah Namah (to use the name given to it by Mamuri) had been carefully written for publication; ~~wh~~ also it was not based on the official histories. There was little that Khafi Khan could do to improve on Sadiq Khan's work, and Khafi Khan's volume on Shah Jahan (397-760) is really Sadiq Khan re-written with slight changes here and there to show that he had access to the official histories also. Khafi Khan often expresses an opinion different from Sadiq Khan, but he could make substantial improvement upon his predecessor's work.

But it was different with Mamuri, Mamuri's work was a draft which the author had not lived to revise and prepare for publication. There were some parts of it which the author had finalised - e.g. Mir Jumla's conquest of Assam - and to which he could have added little more for the senior fellow-officers on whom he had relied for his information were dead. Mamuri gives us the authorities on which he had relied for information concerning those early days, in particular the Alamgir Namah. Generally speaking we may say that Mamuri's account of the first decade is in a finalised form, and that Khafi Khan, instead of making his own summary of Alamgir Namah, prefers to copy out Mamuri's summary.

At the commencement of the second decade of Aurangzeb's reign, Khafi Khan was a boy of six or ~~x~~ seven, but Mamuri was a grown up man in government service. He seems to have written this part of his work in the twenty-third regnal year, and he should

have been able to recall what had happened during the last thirteen years. Nevertheless he seems to be in distress about the sequence of facts and contents himself with merely making a list of the main events. It is difficult to believe that Mamuri had nothing more to tell us about these thirteen years; it is safer to assume that he postponed the finalisation of this part of his history to a more fortunate occasion, when he would be able to discuss the matter with his fellow-officers and consult the official records at Delhi or elsewhere. Khafi Khan improves upon his predecessor's work by discussing what Mamuri had merely enumerated. He was in no position to correct Mamuri's errors. Thus Mamuri puts the Satnami revolt after the emperor's return from Hasan Abdal and Khafi Khan does not correct this mistake. It is to Mamuri's credit that he made a fair estimate of the character of the enemies of the empire; Ishwar Das Nagar in his Futuh-at-i Alamgiri condemns the Satnamis and Sir Jadunath has accepted his opinion. But Mamuri gives them a good character-certificate as a courageous, self-respecting and non-caste community. Khafi Khan has copied Mamuri word by word.

After the twenty-fourth regnal year Khafi Khan was in a position to draw upon whatever he had deposited in the casket of his memory. Still the relative position of the tis officers should not be forgotten. Mamuri had access to Aurangzeb and was on intimate terms with the highest officers among whom the events that shook the empire to its foundation must have

been a constant topic of discussion. Among others, Mamuri knew all the igher officers of the Khawafi group and it is worth noting that almost everything Khafi Khan tells about them is taken from Mamuri. Khafi Khan, on the other hand, was a junior officer whose knowledge was confined to camp gossip, which had no historical value. Consequently he followed - i.e. copied with slight alterations - the work of his predecessors.

A change, however, came with the end of what Sir Jadunath calls the Islampuri period (1629), when Aurangzeb made the unfortunate decision of conquering Maratha forts. So far as marches and sieges are concerned, Khafi Khan still follows Mamuri. But ~~in~~ so far as the sufferings and privations of the imperial army are concerned, Khafi Khan has much to add to Mamuri on the basis of what he himself witnessed. Mamuri, as has been already noted, was not unaware of this aspect of the situation, but it is only in Khafi Khan that we get a correct picture of the whole unhappy situation. Sir Jadunath quotes Manucci to the effect that Aurangzeb's policy cost him the lives of 100,000 men and 300,000 animals every year. It is unfortunate that the great historian's suspicion that Khafi Khan was merely a recorder of gossip, prevented him from making full use of what Khafi Khan wrote as an eye-witness.

The care with which Khafi Khan eliminates all references, which Sadiq Khan and Mamuri have made to themselves in paragraphs which he copies word by word from their works, leaves us no alternative but to

conclude that he wanted to obtain credit for their works for himself. He certainly succeeded in deceiving all students of Indian history till Professor Sri Ram Sharma's remarkable discovery of the two works in Rampur Library. But as to the value of Khafi ~~xx~~ Khan's work as it stands, I will venture to put Professor Sharma's conclusions in more concrete terms. (a) With reference to the reign of Shah Jahan, Khafi Khan's interperence has spoilt, and not improved, the work of Sadiq Khan. (b) But concerning Aurangzeb we have to come to a different conclusion. Khafi Khan found the draft of a history of Aurangzeb, written by a mansabdar of distinction who also knew the leading members of Khafi Khan's family. He proceeded quietly and very dishonestly to improve upon it and to misappropriate it. The history of Aurangzeb in the Muntakhabul Lubab is the joint-work of two officers of the Empire. The contribution made by Khafi Khan to the work of his predecessor cannot be ignored, for it is of real value.

It is useless speculating how Khafi Khan expected that his dishonest misappropriation of the work of his two predecessors would escape detection. He may have thought that he had purchased all the copies of this in the market or the families of Sadiq and Mamuri may have got a high price for their manuscripts from him by telling him that they were the only copies in existence. In any case the steps he took succeeded in deceiving posterity for two centuries and a quarter. Even such a thorough investigator as Sir Jadunath did not discover the

existence of Mamuri, because owing to the errors of the Erahman copyists it had been classified as Sadiq Khan's Badshah Namah.

But it would be unfair to under-estimate Khafi Khan's capacity as a historian on account of his indefensible plagiarism. In giving us an account of the Mughal Dynasty from Babur to Jahangir he merely acts as a compiler and the same is true about his volume on the history of the Deccan. But from the accession of Bahadur Shah to the early years of Mohammad Shah's reign he had no one to guide him and collected his facts from records and by personal investigations. Wherever his narrative is weak, he freely confesses to its being so. In the distressed reign of Farrukh Siyar, he tell us enough paper was not available even for preparing the drafts of the news-writers. Still both for atmosphere and facts, the Muntakhabul Lubab is the best work we have for the decade and a half following Aurangzeb's death.

In footnotes to my translation I have attempted a comparision of Khaif Khan with Sadiq Khan and Mamuri. But to decide the question of plagiarism we must consider the wordings of the Persian original. The following paragraphs are offered as specimens for the purpose of comparison.

خانی خان : منتخب اللباب

جنگ اورنگ زیب با فیل

جلد دوم - صفحه ۴۳ - ۴۵

مادق خان : بادشاه نامه

جنگ اورنگ زیب با فیل

صفحه ۴۲ - الف

درین سال بهمنور هر سال جنگ فیلاں
 کوه شمال زیر مجرولہ حکم فرمودند و محاط
 علی چنان گشت کہ همه پادشاه زادہائی
 گرامی قدر سوار اسپ شدہ جنگ فیلاں
 نمایند - و پادشاه زادہ فیل افکن و شیر شکار
 محمد اورنگ زیب اسپ خود را نزدیک تر
 بفیلاں آوردہ ازستی بادہ جوان و
 شجاعت از مرد و فیل ست کہ باہم آمیختہ
 بودند اصلہ توہم و اندیشہ محاط راہ
 نہادہ ہر ساعت اسپ را بیشتر پیرو تا آنکہ
 کیلے از آن مرد و فیل کورہ رہا بر پادشاه زادہ
 حملہ آور گردید - چون نزدیک رسیدہ آن
 کورہ وقار با حوصلہ از جای خود نجنبیدہ بہ
 مقابل آن بلائی سیاہ استاد بیت -

محمدری زجا یک سر مولش

زپیش چنان پیل یل سولش

زتمکس سرشتہ ز بس پیکرش

نہ جنبیدہ بزنبض از پیکرش

با وجود آنکہ ہنوز درحلہ عمر او عہد تکلیف شرعی

نہم نہ رسیدہ بود بتایید فضل حافظ حقیقی

بازوی جلد دت دوروشی را کار فرمودہ

بغرب ہرچی فیل شکار بہ پیکار آن کورہ

تمثال پرداختہ پیشانی آن دیو نژاد خلک

میکل را مجروح ساخت - بیت -

بہ تکلیف فطرت دلیری نمود

بہ سستی کہ تکلیف بروی نمود

درین سن اگر بودی از سیاب

همی گشتی ز دیدل فیل آب

درین سال جنگ فیلاں کورہ شمال زیر مجرولہ
 کنار آب چمن حکم فرمودند و محاط علی چنان
 گشت کہ ہمراہ پادشاه زادہا سوار شدہ سیرتک
 فیلاں نمایند - شاه زادہ بلند اقبال فیل افکن
 شیر شکار محمد اورنگ زیب ازستی بادہ جوانی
 وغیرہ شجاعت لہہ درہم آمیختن فیلاں
 مقابل ہر دو فیل کہ باہم آمیختہ بودند اسپ
 سوار آمدہ اصلہ توہم و اندیشہ در دل راہ
 نہاد ہر ساعت اسپ خود را نزدیک فیلاں
 میبرد تا نزدیک تر بہ آن دو مغریت صورت
 کورہ پیکر رسیدہ درین ضمن یکی از آن ہر دو فیل
 ابرہمن فعال بر پادشاه زادہ بلند اقبال حملہ
 آور گردید - چون نزدیک رسیدہ آن کورہ وقار
 حوصلہ از جائے خود نجنبیدہ و بمقابلہ آن بلائی
 سیاہ استاد بیت -

محمدری زجا یک سر مولش

زپیش چنان پیل یل سولش

زتمکس سرشتہ ز بس پیکرش

نہ جنبیدہ بزنبض از پیکرش

با وجود آنکہ ہنوز درحلہ عمر شاہ زادہ نامہ ارشد

تکلیف شرعی نہ رسیدہ بود بتایید فضل حقیقی

بازوی جلد دت دوروشی را کار فرمودہ بہ ضرب

ہرچی ان فیل شکار بہ پیکار آن دیو نژاد کورہ شمال

پرداختہ بہ ضرب ہرچی پیشانی فیل را

چون قہ کورہ ہادران رشت افزائی گلونی

شوق گردانید - بیت

بہ تکلیف فطرت دلیری نمود

بہ سستی کہ تکلیف بروی نمود

از شاهده آن حال نگار گیان ملکوت میر از لب
سکوت برداشته به هزاران آفرین زبان کشادند
از چهار طرف چار قل برای دفع چشم زخم او
خوانده بردیدند و آن مغزین نژاد دنداندار
خوردن زخم زیاده فشنکاشته با وجود سردان
چربی و دیگر آتشی و آنه اختن گرز و زدن کجک
و دیگر اقسام حرب پادشاه زاده را همه اسپ بیدار
زیر دندان در آورده و آن نونال گلشن کارانی
بعد همت تهوری و شجاعت موروثی از اسپ
جدا شده باز همان لحظه بختی و چالاکتی تمام دست
بغیر شمشیر نموده بار دیگر بر فیصل کوه پیکر حمله
آورد گردید - و پادشاه زاده محمد شجاع از ملامت
آن حال با وجودی که از هجوم از دهام غلغلن
که بالائی هم می افتادند با دراهم راه تردد نبود
و از دود آتشی آرم آدم را نمیدید فراست که
خود را نزد برادر و القدر رسانده مد نمایند - چون
نزدیک رسیده از زور بازو صف از دهام بردید از
صدمات و آتش فشانان المراف اسپش چراغ پا گردید
و او نیز از بالائی اسپ افتاد - درین وقت راه گنج
خود را بغیر رساند مگر چه از دم نمودن اسپ از نزدیک
بود که بیفتد اما پیر چه خود را نگاه داشته برجی چند
متواتر بر فیصل زد و صاگر ز برادران و دیگر بندهای
جلوی خاص زیر صدمه گرز و حربهای دیگر گرفتند -
درین ضمن فیصل حرفی او برو حمله علیه آمیز آورد
باز آن فیصل دیو صورت مغزین سیرت از صدمات
مغلوب و هراسان گشته رو بفرار آورد - هر دو
پادشاه زاده محض از فضل حافظ بیهمال از
چنگ آن بلای نالهان نجات یافتند - و پادشاه
گردون و قار از محفوظ شدن هر دو پادشاه زاده
نماند از حذر آن سکر بهرگاه کردگار بدل و زبان

درین من اگر بود از سیاب
همی گشتی از دیدن فیصل آب
از شاهده آن حال نگار گیان المراف زبان
باوین گفته گشتند و چار قل برای دفع چشم زخم
آن بلای سیلا خوانند کشادند - و پادشاه را افطار
تمام روداد و منع دلیلی با و از بلند پرواخته - و از
حرف چربی و دیگر آتشی سرداده - بزدن گرز
و کجک و الزام حرب شروع نموده اما فیصل ست ممنوع
نش و کبله از خوردن بز همتی زیاده فشنکاش
گردید - پادشاه زاده را از زمین برداشته
بقدر بردن زیر دندان برداشت - آن نوباده
گلشن جهان باقی با خنجر آب گرز از کمر کشیده چند زخم
متواتر و متوال در جوف و دین آن بلای سیاه چنان
کسیه رسانیده که پادشاه زاده از دندان و حلقه
فرط غم خود بر زمین زد و آن کوه و قار از باد و برق تیز
تراز جامه قتل از کله فیصل بار دیگر آن نونال چین
جهان بانی را از دندان مالش و یاد حلقه فرط غم
پیچیده محض غنای (خ) خود سازد ~~شمشیر شمشیر~~
رنگ از نیام کشیده بر فیصل کوه پیکر حمله آورد گردید و در
درین بر جبهه آن بلای سیاه رسانید - در آن
هنگام که از هجوم تماشاچیان و کثرت از دهام غلغلن
که تمام بالائی هم می افتاد و از دود آتش یار
همه بهر گریز می دیدند - پادشاه زاده محمد شجاع
فراست خود را بعد برادر رساند و در بوی
برو - برادر جوهر شجاعت بر روی کار آمد با وجود
بزر بازو و قوت و همت صف از دهام را بر هم زده
خود را نزدیک برادر رساند از صدمات غلو و آتشی از
اسپش چراغ پا گردید و خود نیز افتاد - درین وقت
دراجه چه سنگ خود را بتقدیر تمام رساند چند برجی
متواتر بر فیصل زده و گرز برادران و دیگر پیادان
جلو خاص زیر صدمه گرز و حربهای دیگر گرفتند

بجاء آوردند و هر دو گوهر درج سلطنت را تنگ
 در آغوش شفقت گرفته فرمودند که پادشاه زاده
 محمد اورنگ زیب را به اشرفی بوزل درآوردند
 و به پنج فرلیلہ اشرفی معجزید بدر و نیشال
 و مستحقان رساندند

و درین حالت فیل و رین او نیز بمحلہ غلبہ آمیز او
 به پیکار او آورد و آن فیل دیوسیت از صفات
 ارفاق مملوک و ہر سال شتہ دو بقرہ آورد و ہر دو
 پادشاه زاده از فضل و یاوروی حق از چنگل آن
 بلد ئے سیاه نجات یافتند - و پادشاه گرد و قار
 از محوطہ ماندن ہر دو پادشاه زاده از فضل حافظہ حقینی
 سجدات شکر بدرگاہ و اہب العالیائے بے منت
 و مثال بے صفی صفت بزر باں فیض تر جمہاں
 بجا آوردند و ہر دو گوہر درج جہاں باقی را صرف
 و ار تنگ در آغوش شفقت گرفتند و فرمودند
 کہ پادشاه زاده اورنگ زیب را در اشرفی
 گرفته لحدی نمایند پنج اشرفی سنجیدہ مستحقان
 مستحقان را کامیاب ساختند -

"و سه محل قرار داد اوله سر بسته تشخیص که در
زمان قدیم بوده . دوم بیانی یعنی تقسیم غله نموده
گرفتن و آنرا باز منقسم ساخت به سه قسم اول آنکه
هر چه از آب باران تا هنگام درو نموده رسد هر
جنس که باشد با کمنا منغه مقرر نمود یعنی نصف سالم
بر عایامد برسد - و نصف در سرکار بقبضه در آید -
دیگر هر جنسی که از آب چاه نموده رسد اگر جنس غله و گیاه
و در بیج باشد سیوم همه از سرکار و دو وعده که در آن
اغازی و ظلم را داخل نباشد برای رعایا مقرر نمود و
سوی غله هر چه از جنس اعلی مثل انگور و نیشکر و لیل
و خنکاش و زرد چوب و زیره و اسفند و غیره بهم رسد
نظر بر خرچ آب کشی و امتداد ایام مقرر رسیدن آن
جنس مختلف از سیوم همه گرفته تا چهارم برای سرکار
باقی برای رعیت قرار داد - سیوم پنجم از آب کاین
و نهرها که از دریاها بریده آورده بزراعت میدهند
برای تقسیم آن بر خلف جنس جایی بکم زیاد مختلف
داخل دستور العمل نمود و محمل سیوم در مقابل تشخیص
سه بسته و تفریق بیانی جریب مقرر نمود یعنی ربع
هر جنس از حیوانات و بقولات و جنس اعلی گرفته
نظر بر خرچ و کمیت بهر میدان حاصل مزروع
نموده بعهده پیمودن زمین از هر جنس بقرار مختلف
باز یافت نمایند - این وجه مقرر کرد که فی بیکه از هر
جنس بگیرند در سه چهار صوبه ملک دکن به عهده
مرشد قلی خاں شصت دارد - گویند بسیار بیشترند
مرشد قلی خاں وقت جریب مقرر نموده نظر بر آنکه
بر رعایا عیف و میل بعمل نیاید و در ربع و تخمینا گرفتن
غبن فاعش نشود خود در دستان کیلوف جریب بگیرند
ازین جزر سی و پرداخت روز بروز افزونی آید
ملک و معمول مال می افزود دیگر دانست که المراف
ملک دلی و البرباد را در از ~~بیکه~~ بیکه خود که ~~ملک~~

"و سه محل قرار داد اوله سر بسته تشخیص که در زمان
قدیم بوده و دوم بیانی یعنی تقسیم غله نموده گرفتن که
خود مجید بود و آن را باز منقسم ساخت به سه قسم اوله
آنکه هر چه از آب باران تا هنگام درو نموده رسد هر جنس
که باشد با آن قبضه مقرر نمود یعنی سالم برسد و نصف در
سرکار بقبضه در آید و دیگر جنسی که از آب چاه نموده رسد
اگر چه از جنس غله و گیاه و در بیج باشد سیوم همه از
سرکار و دو وعده که در آن اغازی و ظلم را داخل نباشد
برای رعایا مقرر نمود و سوائی غله هر چه از جنس اعلی
مثل انگور و نیشکر و لیل و انار و ترنج و لاله و اینه
... و اناس و پشت غار و مزل و بی و شتالو
و زرد چوب و زیره و اسفند و دمنجان و نارنگ
و غیره بهم رسد نظر بر خرچ آب کشی و امتداد ایام مقرر
رسیدن آن جنس مختلف از سیوم همه گرفته تا
چهارم همه برائے سرکار باقی برائے رعیت قرار
داد و سیوم پنجم از آب کاین و نهرها که از دریا
بریده آورده بزراعت آب میدهند برای تقسیم
آن بر خلف جنس جایی بکم و زیاد مختلف داخل
دستور العمل نموده و محمل سیوم در مقابل تشخیص سه
بسته و تفریق بیانی جریب مقرر نمود یعنی ربع هر جنس از
حیوانات و بقولات و جنس اعلی گرفته نظر بر خرچ کمیت
بهم رساندن حاصل مزروع نموده فی بیکه دستور نموده
که بعهده پیمودن زمین هر جنس بقرار مختلف با نمایند
و این وجه مقرر کرد نیز از محکات مرشد قلی خاں است
و گاهی چنان میکرد وقت جریب نظر بر آنکه بر
رعایا عیف و میل بمیان نیاید و در ربع و تخمینا
گرفتن غبن فاعش نشود خود در دستان
دستان کیلوف جریب میگرفت - ازین جزر سی
و پرداخت روز بروز افزونی و آباری ملک و
معمولی افزود و دیگر آنکه المراف شاه جهان آباد

رعایای پرنات میان هم دیگر و با هم و محال داد
 وسته دارند هزار و دوه صد و ده شاه جهان است و
 بیگه دفتری سه هزار و شش صد و ده مکتبی باشد
 که در از سه بیگه رعیتی یک بیگه باشد و باز بیگه
 که بایم داران از طرف پادشاهی در فرایس درج میگردد
 و از بیگه الهی خوانند پنج هزار و چهار صد و ده کسری
 باله میشود و هر بیگه را بست هفت نموده و هر هفت را از
 بسوه خوانند و تمام در لشت کار و حساب سزین
 المراف صوبه جات توابع شاه جهان آباد بر بیگه است
 و در دکن مختلف است هر چند در صوبه جات
 دکن نیز آن حساب بیگه بعمل می آید اما بیشتر بر
 آوت در دفاتر ثبت میگردد و حساب آن چنین است
 که در خاندیش چهار بیگه رعیتی را که در از هر بیگه سه هزار
 هزار و شش صد و ده مکتبی باشد و در آن ملک ازین
 خود تر بیگه نمی باشد یک پرتن نامند و سیت
 پرتن را که هشتاد بیگه باشد یک آوت گویند و
 در صوبه برار و المراف آن هشت بیگه را یک نیست
 خوانند و ده نیست را یک آوت گویند باز لفظ
 آوت الملق نامند بر اسم قلیه و هر هزار می
 که یک هفت گاؤ داشته باشد و هر چه تواند
 بدین هفت گاؤ قلیه را می نمایند آن را نیز
 آوت گویند دیگر با صلاحد دهاتین دکن که دفتر
 پرنات نیز ثبت میگردد مقابل محمول زراعت
 محمول باغات می نامند یعنی هر قطعه زمین که محمول
 حاصل آنها از آب چاه بهم رسد خواه جنس غله باشد
 و خواه نیشکر یا غیره جنس اصلی باشد آن را
 باغات می خوانند

و اگر آباد را از بیگه خود ده رعایای پرنات میان هم
 هم دیگر با هم و محال داد و ستد دارند هزار و دوه صد و ده
 شاه جهان است و بیگه دفتری سه هزار و شش صد و ده
 مکتبی می باشد که در از سه بیگه رعیتی یک بیگه باشد
 و بیگه که بایم داران المراف پادشاهی در فرایس درج
 میگردد و از بیگه الهی خوانند پنج هزار و چهار صد و ده
 کسری باله میشود و هر بیگه را بست هفت نموده و هر هفت
 را بسوه خوانند و تمام در لشت کار و حساب سزین
 المراف صوبه جات توابع شاه جهان آباد بر بیگه دفتری
 است و در دکن مختلف است هر چند در صوبه جات
 دکن نیز آن حساب بیگه بعمل می آید اما بیشتر با هم
 آوت در دفاتر ثبت میگردد و حساب آن چنین است
 که در خاندیش چهار بیگه رعیتی را که در از هر بیگه سه هزار
 هزار و شش صد و ده مکتبی باشد و در آن ملک ازین خود
 تر بیگه نمی باشد و در صوبه برار و المراف آن
 هشت بیگه را یک نیست خوانند و ده نیست را یک آوت
 گویند باز لفظ آوت الملق نامند بر اسم قلیه و هر
 هزار می که یک هفت گاؤ داشته باشد و هر چه تواند
 بدین هفت گاؤ قلیه را می نمایند آن را نیز آوت گویند

الوالفعل محمودی : تاریخ اورنگ زیب
صفحه ۱۳ (ب)

(ا) والد مصنف در خدمت شاهی خال

"چون در زامانی بر حالات ده ساله بادشاه زبان
را بتفصیل تحریر دینم نهاده بنظر اجمال می پردازد
و بزرگ را بعضا بتفصیل تفصیل حالات ده ساله
منظور باشد بطلقات الحائف احوال در تاریخ
عالمگیری و قصص میرزا ساقی دریافت نمایم -
اینچ از زبانی والد فودنه از آن سفر همراه امیرالدرا
بود مسموع نمود بنول قلم میدهد -"

خانی خال : منتخب الباب

جلد دوم - صفحه ۱۴۲

(ا) والد مصنف در خدمت شاهی خال

"تفصیل این اجمال اینچ از والد فودنه
در خدمت امیرالدرا بود در آن سفر دهم همراه
بود مسموع گردیده بجل می نگارد
(لایق در صفحه ۱۵۵ نوشته است)

اما مکرر اوراق اینچ از روی دفتر
بتحقیق آن پرداخته در زبانی والد مسموع نه از
نوزان بقمه روشناس براد بخش و تارود
فراغ مقدمه در پائی قلعه نشسته در فکر مغموبه
کنده بستان و فرود آوردن آغای فودنه
برده بود و بقله نوری عالمگیر پرداخت

چنانچه صوبه فاندیش و بندر سورت چار
فندل این طرف بندر مذکور رودخانه ایست
مسمی به سائین که آب آنجا از روی احتیاط
نخوردند بهای آن قطعه زمین کار خود میکنند
و ممکن نیست از صدد او مسافری ببول عارضه
تب ریائی یاب

چنانچه مابین صوبه فاندیش و بندر سورت
چار فندل این طرف بندر مذکور رودخانه ایست
مسمی به سائین یعنی مادر آب آنجا فی الواقع در
اول فصل فریق کلم زهره در بهم می رساند
هر مسافری که در آن موسم از آب عبور نمود
هر چند که آب آنجا از روی احتیاط نخورد هوای
آب آن قطع زمین کار خودی نمایند و ممکن
نیست از صدد مسافری ببول عارضه تب ریائی
یاب

۳۱ رفتن گرفتن آنرا خاں از خاں خاں رفتن گرفتن آنرا خاں از خاں

میرجله

خاں خاں میرجله

صفحه ۱۲۷ (الف) تا ۱۲۸ (ب)

جلد دوم - صفحه ۱۵۸ - ۱۵۹

روزی قبل از آنکه اثر ملوع آفتاب ظاهر گردد
دو وقت تلاوت قرآن و اوراد خواندن خاں
خاں بود آنرا خاں بافضل همراه ملح
گشته بدر خانه خاں خاں آمده چوبه ازل
مجال مانع آمدن بنود آنرا خاں با هم پان
اندرول در آمده چنانکه خاں خاں بر سجاده
نشسته مشغول خواندن ادعیه بود حاضر نشسته
خاں خاں متوهم شده بزبان فوش سبب آمدن
پرسید - آنرا خاں در جواب گفت که درین مدت
در حالتی قعود نکردم و همه ملک در تصرف
پادشاهی در آمده لکن افسوس آن دارم که مرکز
آنرا و تحسین از زبان آن کار فرما بر نیاید
لبنه بودن و نبودن خود معطل محض دانسته
برای رفتن آمدیم دستک رفتن عنایت
فرمایند - خاں خاں هر چند بعد از تقصیر ایام
گذشته و تلافی ایام آنگونه پیش آمده فائده
نداد بعد از آنکه خاں خاں بعد از حاضر نبودن مشغول
برای تحریر دستک پیش آمده فواید بدفعه
الوقت بردارد - آنرا خاں دوات قلم و پارچه
کاغذ پیش خاں خاں گذاشت - خاں خاں
دستک گذاشته داد و مهر نموده حواله ادبافت
لکن بر سر گذار با و بعضی نوشتجات دوازده
آنرا خاں عبور نگذاشته - لکن هر جا که آنرا خاں
رسیده لشتی موجود نیافت خود را بدریا زده
عبور نموده بعضی چند غلغل بریا غرق
شدند -

روزی قبل از آنکه اثر ملوع آفتاب ظاهر گردد
دو وقت تلاوت قرآن و اوراد خواندن خاں
خاں بود آنرا خاں بافضل همراه ملح
گشته بدر خانه خاں خاں آمده چوبه ازل
مجال مانع آمدن بنود آنرا خاں با هم پان
اندرول در آمده چنانکه خاں خاں بر سجاده
نشسته مشغول خواندن ادعیه بود حاضر نشسته
خاں خاں متوهم شده بزبان فوش سبب آمدن
پرسید - آنرا خاں در جواب گفت که درین مدت
در حالتی قعود نکردم و همه ملک در تصرف
پادشاهی در آمده لکن افسوس آن دارم که مرکز
آنرا و تحسین از زبان آن کار فرما بر نیاید
لبنه بودن و نبودن خود معطل محض دانسته
برای رفتن آمدیم دستک رفتن عنایت
فرمایند - خاں خاں هر چند بعد از تقصیر ایام
گذشته و تلافی ایام آنگونه پیش آمده فائده
نداد بعد از آنکه خاں خاں بعد از حاضر نبودن مشغول
برای تحریر دستک پیش آمده فواید بدفعه
الوقت بردارد - آنرا خاں دوات قلم و پارچه
کاغذ پیش خاں خاں گذاشت - خاں خاں
دستک گذاشته داد و مهر نموده حواله ادبافت
لکن بر سر گذار با و بعضی نوشتجات دوازده
آنرا خاں عبور نگذاشته - لکن هر جا که آنرا خاں
رسیده لشتی موجود نیافت خود را بدریا زده
عبور نموده بعضی چند غلغل بریا غرق
شدند -

همراه برده بود پیش خان فغان که داشت و
 گفت التماس آن دارم که نواب بدست
 بیار دستک نعلیند خان فغان نظر برینکه
 حق بجانب دوست و صیغ و چه در آن حالت از
 دست آن جلالت در تار که بارها از و کار
 دست بسته مشاهده نموده بود در پائی نداشت
 لغو و کربا ناچار دستک رفعت نداشت و بهر
 نموده حواله نمود اما در سر گذرها و معبرهای آب
 و نخلجات دو آنکه بعد رسیدن آن خان کشتیها را
 بنده سازند و تا مقدور نگذارند که از آبها
 عبور نمایند کیلین عرقا که آن دریا نور در شیر نبرد
 رسید مله ج و کشتی وجود نیافت با همراهان
 خود را بر دریا زده بمنازل اسپان محافظ
 بروم کمر بسته شناکنان گذشت و در بعضی جا
 دریاها بی قلب چند نفر از غلامان دیگر
 همراهان که اجل آنها دامنگیر گردید غرق
 بحر فنا گردیدند

CHAPTER IX

Controversies about Aurangzeb.

" At the end of the seventeenth century," Sir Jadunath Sarkar states," the great empire founded by Akbar, and raised to world-famed prosperity by Shah Jahan was in a state of hopeless decay; administration, culture, economic life, military strength and social organisation, all seemed to be hastening to utter ruin and dissolution. The material waste caused to the empire by this century of warfare was frightful. The desolation of the Deccan was complete. As a contemporary European observer notes, 'Aurangzeb withdrew to Ahmadnagar leaving behind him the fields of these provinces devoid of trees, and bare of crops, their place being taken by the bones of men and beasts. Instead of verdure all is blank and barren. The country is so entirely desolated and depopulated that neither fire nor light can be found in the course of three or four day's journey. There have died in his armies over a hundred thousand souls nearly, and of animals, pack-Oxen, camels, elephants, etc. over three hundred thousand ... In the Deccan provinces from 1702 to 1704 plague (and famine) prevailed. In these two years there expired over two million souls.' (Storia de Mogor, iv, 252 and 96)." ¹

1. Sarkar, Aurangzeb, vol v, p 235-6 what we learn from Manuri and Khafi Khan fully confirms Manucci.

Elsewhere the great historian remarks, " The great anarchy began in the empire of Delhi even before Aurangzeb had closed his eyes."

The great city of Delhi was sacked by Nadir Shah in 1739 after the battle of Karnal. Thereafter the Mughal empire remained only a theory or an ideal, but since the disappearance of the centralised authority seems to have taken place as a consequence of the policy Aurangzeb pursued during the last forty years of his reign, it is natural to hold him responsible for the dissolution of the empire and all its direct and indirect consequences. But this sort of argument in no way convinces the apologists of Aurangzeb.

In his classical work on Dara Shukoh, Professor Qanungo remarks: " In spite of the unfavourable verdict of history, Aurangzeb shall ever remain the hero of popular imagination, which is hardly affected by historical criticism. The homage of love and admiration which Muslims pay to him is not due to the peculiar mentality of that community. Had he been born among the Hindus or Christians and done as much for them, he would have been hailed with no less popular applause than what he receives today from his own community. His is a character just suited to fire popular imagination which always paints the ideal hero as one who does not deviate even by a hair-breadth from the traditional path of the Dharma (Law), restores religion to its purity, represses the enemies of his faith, protects the pious, spurns the reductions of softer voices, labours not for his own enjoyment but for the discharge of his duty to his people, lives and dies a

1. Sarkar , Aurangzeb, Vol v

poor man in the midst of the wealth of Hind with a character without any weakness and without any moral stain ... If the ideal king Ramchandra can not be blamed for cutting off the head of a Sudra ascetic, as the poet Bhavabhuti paints his hero, - Aurangzeb can hardly be blamed for putting Sarmad and Dara to death, or what he did towards those whom he deemed the enemies of true religion. The misfortune of Aurangzeb was that he lived in a historical age, and had the full light of history focussed on him."¹

A very good example of this uncritical adulation of Aurangzeb, to which Professor Qanungo refers, is to be found in the late, highly respected Maulana Shibli's Aurangzeb Alamgir.²

"The charge-sheet against Aurangzeb is perhaps longer than against any other criminal. He imprisoned his father, killed his brothers, destroyed the (two) Muslim Kingdoms of the Deccan, persecuted the Hindus and shook the foundation of the Timurid empire by molesting the Rajputs. But leaving other things aside, we have to consider whether the most just Kings of the dynasty had been guilty of similar acts or not." The pious scholar has no difficulty in proving that precedents for all the acts of Aurangzeb are to be found in the career of Shah Jahan.³ And further Maulana Shibli states; "Nimat Khan Ali" in his Waqai has written a condemnation of Aurangzeb

1. Qanungo: 'Dara Shukoh', Vol. I p 273-4.

2. Reprinted by the Jamia Millia Press Aligarh, 1924

3. Aurangzeb-Alamgir, p 2 et ref

from the beginning to the end. But Aurangzeb's successor, Bahadur Shah, on account of his leanings towards Shiaish, gave the author the title of 'Danishmand Khan' and his book came to be included in the syllabus." ¹

" It was not Aurangzeb who raised the Maratha trouble; they had attained to such power in the time of Shah Jahan that he had to use all his forces against them." ²

" In short in 1117 H () the forty-ninth year of the reign all the forts and impregnable places of Marathas were conquered." ³

But Mamuri and Khafi Khan both tell us that, apart from Torna, these forts were either purchased or capitulated on terms and that they were reconquered by the Marathas." ⁴ The great throne of the Timurids was occupied by Muazzam (Bahadur) Shah and cruel historians blamed the angust predecessors" for the faults of his worthless successors. ⁵

" It was a custom of the Timurid Durbar that when a great officer died leaving infant sons, the emperor used to summon them to brought up like princes under his care. It was according to this custom that Aurangzeb summoned the sons of Jaswant Singh." ⁶ Mughal historians do not refer to any such custom. But the question here was not of guardianship only, but of reparating unweaned babies from their mothers.

1. Aurangzeb Alamgir, p.10

2. Aurangzeb Alamgir, p 29

3. Aurangzeb Alamgir, p 39

4. A complete account of the purchase and loss of these forts will be found in Sarkar, Aurangzeb, Vol V

5. Aurangzeb-Alamgir, p 41

6. Aurangzeb-Alamgir, p46

With reference to the order noted by Khafi Khan that "Hindu perhkars and diwans be removed and that Muslim Karories alone be recommended for appointment to the mahals of the Khalsa," the following unfortunate justification is offered. "It is obvious that Kayasthas used to be appointed to this office, who are famous for taking bribes, no distinction on the ground of religion was intended." Later on, when Aurangzeb, unable to enforce his original order, relaxed it for lack of trained Muslims, so as to appoint one Hindu against one Musalman, Maulana Shibli offers a second unfortunate justification. "What other object could such arrangement have except that Hindus should be prevented from taking bribes and acting corruptly." ¹ There is no proof for such a charge. Mamuri, Khafi Khan and Aurangzeb's own firmans make it quite clear that the orders of dismissal were made on purely religious grounds.

"The Jazia-tax was nothing nonpleasant, it was, on the contrary a blessing to non-Muslim communities. There can be no doubt that the Hindus showed a resentment against it, but this was to be expected as the tax had not been imposed for a long time." ² If Maulana Shibli had worked out the figures of the jazia- ordinance and examined its language of inexcusable theological arrogance, he would have found that the resentment of the Hindu workers was based on the fact that the jazia-tax not only insulted their religion but took away from them about one month of their yearly earnings.

1. Aurangzeb-Alamgir p 60

2. Aurangzeb- Alamgir, p 64

The learned theologian admits that if Aurangzeb destroyed temples, then this was against the principles of Islam and the tradition of the Pious Caliphate. One feels grateful for this verbal tolerance. Nevertheless the following excuse is offered for Aurangzeb's wholesale temple destruction. "Today the mosques of the Musalmans and the patshlas of the Hindus are protected. But in former days these places had become the centres of conspiracies and revolts. This is the reason why Hindus and Musalmans destroyed each other's places of worship whenever they had the power to do so.¹" No proof is given for this statement. In any case many Hindu temples were destroyed - e.g. in Rajputana - after the population had fled away and there was no one left to conspire or rebel.

"Aurangzeb was a Sunni, while all his historians - that is Nimat Khan Ali, Kazim Shirazi, Aqil Khan Razi, and Khafi Khan - were shias. This does not mean that their accounts are unreliable owing to their belonging to a different sect, but Asian historians are influenced by differences of religious opinions.²" Now all these four historians are Persians. But Kazim, the author of Alamgir Namah, whether a Shia or a Sunni in his heart, wrote under Aurangzeb's personal supervision. Aqil and Khafi Khan were both from Khawaf in Khurasan; but they had the greatest respect for the emperor and wrote like good Sunnis. Nimat Khan Ali may have been a Shia, but a discerning critic cannot ignore the suggestions in his Waqe'at.

1. Aurangzeb Alamgir, p. 67

2. Aurangzeb Alamgir, p. 73

Such arguments though they prove the thesis of Professor Qanungo and may provide some solace to communalistic and reactionary consciences, do not lead to any useful results, and are no contribution to history as a progressive science. It has to be added that Maulana Shibli's work on Aurangzeb Alamgir is hasty and unfortunate. It is not worthy of the authors of the Shirul Ajam and the Siratul Nabi. We do not find in it that critical examination of authorities that has won for Maulana Shibli such an honoured place among the biographers of the Arabian Prophet.

II: THE MONARCHY AND THE SHARI'AT

I: In order to understand the tragedy of Aurangzeb, we must keep in mind the contradictions between the two elements he represented - the institution of monarchy and the ideology of the shari'at.

The institution of monarchy is not based on the Quran or the Prophet's precepts but on the statesmanship of Amir Mu'awiya and the need of maintaining law and order. But monarchy among the Musalmans had certain definite characteristics, both good and bad, during the middle ages, which distinguished it from the monarchies of other countries - medieval Europe, for example. First, all officers, high and low, were appointed and dismissed by the king in his discretion; in other words the king had to organise and maintain a governing class which would help him to administer the country, but all members of which were under his personal control. Secondly, the religious ulema of Islam could never develop into an independent body like the priests of the Roman Catholic Church. All judicial ecclesiastical and semi-ecclesiastical officers were appointed by the king and could be dismissed by him at will. The maintenance of orthodoxy and the punishment of heresy was a function of the king; the ulema could merely appeal to him, and were unable to punish anyone on their own authority. Gibbon rightly remarks with reference to the great Umayyad Caliphs that there were no checks to their authority - except a revolutionary public opinion. The great feature of Muslim monarchy was its extraordinary concentration of authority.

On the other hand, Muslim monarchy could never be "institutionalised" - i.e. brought under the regime of law and custom. Muslim secular reason did not succeed in evolving universally accepted principles for the devolution of the monarchy. The utmost we can say is this. The reigning monarch had the right to nominate one of his sons (or brothers) as his successor and the person so nominated would ascend the throne after his death provided he was acceptable to the great officers of the state. If they were not prepared to accept him, they would put another person from the family of the deceased king, on the throne. If no agreement could be arrived at, there would be a War of Succession. This is a well-known phenomena in the history of Muslim monarchies.

Conversely, just as the law of the Quran and the Prophet did not recognise the legitimacy of monarchy, it did not put treason within the category of crimes ! Some Shari'at law-books condemn taking arms against a generally accepted government, but they have no 'authority' for such judgments. In any case Muslim public opinion refused to make any distinction between a successful rebel and a legitimate king. The Quran refers to nunafiqs (hypocrites), who were against the Prophet in their hearts, but they are not named and no punishment was meted out to them. The Prophet of Islam had no law of treason - and no need for it.

The historian Ziauddin Barni, who had been a courtier of Mohammad bin Tughlaq for about twenty-seven years, writes as follows in his Fatawa-i Jahandari, the only Indo-Muslim work on political theory that has yet been discovered.

"Now, between the traditions (Sunnah) of the Prophet Mohammad, and his mode of life and living and the customs of the Iranian Emperors, and their mode of life and living, there is a complete contradiction and total opposition...The pious Caliph governed the world according to the traditions of the Prophet, while wearing tattered cloths, poor and starving; nevertheless Umar, Usman and Ali were martyred by reckless devotees. After them the Caliphs and rulers of Islam were faced with two irreconcilable alternatives, both necessary for the religion and the state. If they followed the traditions of the Prophet and his mode of life, kingship and government would be impossible for them. On the other hand, if in their customs of sitting, standing, eating, dressing and in their general mode of life they followed the policy of the Iranian Emperors, which breaks the headstrong, subdues rebels and is necessary for the execution of state-orders, it would be necessary to violate the traditions of the Prophet, which are the foundation and the basis of the Faith. A careful reflection upon the character of the kings and those near them leaves us in no doubt that prophethood is the perfection of religion and that kingship is the perfection of worldly good-fortune. These two perfections are opposed and contradictory to each other, and their combination is not within the bounds of possibility...consequently, it became necessary for the rulers of Islam to follow the policy of the Iranian Emperors in order to ensure the greatness of the True Word, the supremacy of the Muslim religion, the power of Truth, the suppression and overthrow of the opponents and enemies of the Faith, the execution of the orders of religion and the

maintenance of their own authority...Nevertheless Islam totally forbids and prohibits the inequities committed by the Iranian Emperors. But just as the eating of carrion, though prohibited, is yet permitted in time of dire need, similarly the customs and traditions of the pagan Emperors of Iran...should from the view-point of truth and the correct Faith, be considered like the eating of a carrion in time of dire need. It is the duty of religious kings to be afraid and regretful of such actions which are a danger to religion, to ask for Divine forgiveness during the nights with weeping and lamentations, to know for certain that all the customs and ways of kingship are violations of the traditions of the Prophet and that in this violation they and their followers and their servants are involved...kingship is not possible without following the tradition of the emperors of Iran, and it is known to all religious scholars & that these traditions are opposed to the traditions of the Prophet and to his mode of life and living."¹

The monarchy evolved by the Umayyads subsisted throughout the middle ages and has in some parts survived upto our times. It is not doubt rendered substantial service to the expansion of Islam, but had plenty of ugly features. In the first, the duties required of the ruler were so great that a very high percentage of kings who wanted the throne failed to come up to the required standard and were put to death by their relations, high officers or rebels. No Muslim royal family has been more honoured than the Abbaside Caliphs of Baghdad, still

1. Habib and Afsar: The Political Theory of the Middle Ages, pp 39-40.

an analysis of the fate of the 28 minor Abbaside Caliphs (861-1258) shows that 8 were put to death, 2 were blinded, 2 were deposed but probably not killed and one was compelled to abdicate. Secondly every shahzada who desired to mount the throne, and every king, who wished to reign in safety had no alternative but to kill his nearest relations; for if allowed to survive they would claim the throne or be used as their tools by rebels. Muslim opinion did not approve a son's killing of his father for the sake of the throne, and Mirza Abdul Latif, who killed his father Ulugh Beg Mirza, grandson of Amir Timur, is execrated by all historians. But putting brothers, cousins and sons to death was quite in consonance with the traditions of Muslim monarchy. Some official writers went so far as to approve it, for the king, who slew his rivals and kinsmen, ensured the public peace. In imprisoning his father and putting his brothers and nephews to death, Aurangzeb had followed the time-honoured customs of Muslim monarchy. The public may weep over the fate of Dara and Murad, but they knew that Aurangzeb had no alternative. It did not class him with murderers or even with killers. Such executions were acts of State.

II: The Arabian peninsula was converted to Islam by the Prophet. Thereafter it expanded politically from the Chinese frontiers to southern Spain mostly during the reign of the Caliphs Umar I (633-644). The frontiers of the Muslim populations (though they included large non-Muslim minorities) are still substantially where the Caliph Walid left them. But how the conquered people were converted to Islam is not known. No authorities on

the question have survived, but the shari'at of Islam had probably much to do with it.

"I have been sent to overthrow habits and customs", the Prophet is reported to have said, and his whole effort was directed to overthrowing the pagan ways of the Arabs. But while political consolidation of Arabia (as Maulana Shibli points out) was a comparatively easier task, it was very difficult to work a revolution in the minds of men. Like all other moral and social revolutionaries, the Prophet was driven to recognise the "inevitability of gradualness." He started, as Maulana Abdul Kalam points out, with the basic formula that "all men are equal and brothers," but when the Meccan chiefs rejected his message, and even persecuted him for his preaching, he confined the principle of 'equality and brotherhood' to his small band of persecuted followers. In some items of his programme, the Prophet's success was phenomenal. The Arab tribes consented to their idols being broken by the Prophet's emissaries and the customs associated with idol-worship were completely eliminated from the Arab mind. As Sir Syed Ahmad Khan rightly points out in one of his small treatise, Risala-i Ahtal-i Ghulami, the Prophet completely overthrew the custom of reducing prisoners of war to slavery. In other matters like the prohibition of drinking, gambling and the eating of prohibited flesh, the Prophet proceeded slowly but succeeded in winning his community to his ways. But in his ten years of government over the Republic of Madina, the Prophet was unable to eliminate all discriminations. The inequality of men and women remained; slavery, though

condemned, could not be liquidated; and tribal distinctions and tribal associations survived. The Prophet's ten years at Medina must be regarded as an unfinished revolution - a revolution which posterity failed to develop on proper lines. The policy of the Pious Caliphs was clear. When the Prophet's injunctions led to some necessary conclusions, they had no hesitation in enforcing them. Thus the Caliph Abu Bakar refused to make any compromise with the Apostates for the reduction of zakat and the five prayers. The second Caliph prohibited temporary marriages and the Third Caliph ordered the destruction of all except the authorised copies of the Quran. Nevertheless the Pious Caliphs claimed no Divine mandate and where the Prophet had accepted a compromise (like kissing the black stone of Ka'aba), they merely followed his precedent.

Now a new form of society requires a new law and this law in Islam is known as the shari'at as 'the path.' Some laws, but very few, are formed in the Quran. They are also brief and do not give sufficient guidance to the judicial officers who had to enforce them. On the other hand the Quran does not leave anything unsaid so far as the moral principles of social life are concerned.

Sunni critics are generally agreed that no book has survived to us from the first century of Islam with the exception of the Quran. For that one century - and the most important of all - we are entirely dependent on what was remembered and not upon what survived in writing. The consolidation of Muslim learning, both scientific, secular and theological on the basis of written books is an achievement of the period of great Abbasides (754-841).

It was the period that saw the growth of the four scholars of Muslim jurisprudence. The matter has been discussed by Dr. Schacht in his Origin of Islamic Jurisprudence and does not concern us here. The first conflict was between the followers of rawayat or traditions and Imam Shafi'i, who claimed that all laws should be based on the Quran and the Prophet's precepts and arguments drawn therefrom. But the four Sunni scholars were easily reconciled on the principle that any qazi could select the principle that did justice to the parties of the case before him, regardless of the differences between the four legal schools.

The relation between Muslim and non-Muslims will be discussed in the next section. But there can be little doubt that among all community-laws, the shari'at of Islam was the best legal system in the middle ages so far as private rights were concerned. But with the passage of time and the expansion of Islam into foreign lands, the shari'at became less and less applicable and was restricted to spheres of marriage, inheritance and the like. We have to point out briefly how this happened.

(1) The monarchy of the Umayyads had been established three or four generations before the text books of the shari'at appeared. The great mujtahids of the Abbaside period are silent about monarchy and political institution in general, and it is doubtful if anything said by them would have made any difference to the course of political events. There are some stories connecting Imam Shafi'i with the Caliph Harun Rashid, but the founders of the other three schools and their chief followers were independent of the government and the government was independent

of them.

(2) It was generally postulated that the basis of the shari'at were the Quran, the Prophet's precepts and actions, and qiyas - the application of the principles of the Quran and the Prophet's precepts to analogous cases. The principles of istislah (reform) and istihsan (public welfare) were not accepted as proper bases for the Shariat; the Quran refers to the Law of nature - "the nature (fitrat) of God according to which he has made man," - nevertheless the Law of Reason or Nature, which had been such a useful guide for the Roman jurists, was not known to the mujtahids of Islam.

(3) The first challenge to the shari'at probably came from urf or custom. If a non-Arab community was converted to Islam, it would continue its old customs, provided they were not potently idolators. It would even ignore clear Quranic injunctions, such as granting inheritance to women, because its conditions of life were so radically different from those of the Arabia of the Prophet.

(4) The great challenge to the shari'at, however came from the State. "The basis of the shari'at-law was canonical authority, the public good was not a relevant consideration. But the basis of kingship was the public good, it could have no other basis. Under these conditions wise kings adopted a policy of compromise and moderation. They paid a lip-homage to the Shari'at and admitted their sinfulness if they were unable to enforce any of its provisions; they kept the State-controlled mullahs disciplined and satisfied; over the whole field of administration concerning which the shari'at is silent

or nearly silent, they make their own laws; if the traditional customs of the people were against the shari'at, they enforce these customs. Thus state-laws, called zawabit, grew under the protection of monarchy. If these laws violated the shari'at, the principle of necessity could be quoted in their favour. And the back of the shari'at was broken for the primary reason¹ that it had provided no means for its own development."

(5) In the last stage of its degeneration, the advocates of the shari'at prevented all resort to the Quran and Prophet and demanded proofs from secondary authority only. Thus the Medayah written in the eleventh century, occasionally discusses the Quran and the Prophet's precepts. But the Fatawa-i Almagiri as already pointed out, is a mere compilation of secondary authorities.

Though State-laws (zawabit or A'in) came into existence with the Umayyad monarchy - or, perhaps with the Pious Caliphate - the first frank discussion of State-laws is to be found in the two works of Barni,² who wrote three centuries before Aurangzeb's accession. It is necessary to take some note of what Barni says.

(a) Punishments prescribed by the Quran are called hudud and shari'at text-books do not discuss any other crimes. These punishments had never been enforced and

1. Political Theory of the Delhi Sultanate by Habib and Afsar, pp. 136-7.

2. Tarikh-i Feroz Shahi, and Fatawa-i Jahandaril

Barni held that this was justified on the basis of the Prophet's precepts: 'avoid Quranic punishments on grounds of doubt.' In fact long before Barni the framers of the shari'at had laid down such stern rules of evidence for the proof hudud-crimes that no one could be punished unless he had committed these crimes in public. Thus all crimes came within the sphere of state-laws.

(b) "A state-law (zabita)," Barni declares, "means a rule of action which the king has imposed as an obligatory duty on himself for realising the welfare of the State and from which he absolutely never deviates." A non-shari'at but extremely important institution like the monarchy could only exist with the support of state-laws. Barni advised the kings to adhere to the old laws, the value of which had been proved by experience. But we live in a changing world and adherence to old laws may prove suicidal. "In that case the king must collect the well-wishers of his kingdom and frame new laws. But these new laws, which will regulate the work of every government department, should be framed after careful reflection, consideration and discussion in which every aspect of the matter, present and future, is kept in view." Lastly if state-laws came into conflict, the state-laws are to prevail. 'Necessity makes lawful things forbidden.' But the king must realise that he is endangering his personal salvation by overriding the shari'at and pray for Divine forgiveness.¹

(3) The ulema based the shari'at on cononical authority, but the laws of the state had to be defined with reference to an end or objective which they were expected to attain. Human welfare depends in the last

1. "Political Theory of Delhi Sultanate," advice XIV, pp 64-65.

resort on the efficiency of our methods of production and we should not expect the definition of a socialist or a welfare state in Burni. But what he says is clear enough for his age: "Only that ruler can in truth and justice be called and deemed a king in whose territory no man goes to sleep naked and hungry, and who makes laws (zawabit) and frames measures (mawazin) owing to which no subject of his has to face any material distress (darmandgi) from which there is a danger to his life.¹"

The Delhi sultanate and the Meghul empire could only survive by keeping in view the concrete conditions of life. If the ruler or his officers ignored these conditions, they had to answer for their error with their heads. The emperor Akbar was driven by necessity and conviction to the policy Sulh-i kul or complete and universal religious tolerance. But the ulema were bound by no such necessity. They kept on teaching the shari'at books written in Iraq, Persia and Mawaraun Nahr without any reference to the condition around them. The governments of Delhi were basically Indian; the shari'at, on the other hand, continued to be foreign and was never Indianised.

III: Concerning the relations of Muslims and non-Muslims much has to be clarified and much has to be condemned. But we must consider the matter with reference to the changes of time and circumstances.

(I) Much controversy has prevailed with reference to the campaigns (ghazwas) of the Prophet. But the following postulates of Maulana Shibli embody the

1. Siratus Nabi, Vol. I, p. 427.

conclusion of higher Muslim Scholarship throughout the ages. The Prophet only resorted to war under two conditions - (a) When the enemies attacked Medina and the city had to be defended and (b) when it was known that the enemies were conspiring to attack Medina and their attack had to be anticipated.¹

Maulana Shibli also quotes a hadis from the Sunan of Abu Daud to the effect that a man asked the Prophet: "What about a person who wishes to fight in a holy war but also desires some benefit for himself." "There is no spiritual reward (sawab) for him," the Prophet replied. Three times this question was put to the Prophet and every time he gave the same reply. According to the Sahih of Imam Muslim, the Prophet declared that a holy warrior, who took his share of war-spoils here below, would lose two-thirds of his award in the next world.²

(2) By the time of the greater Abbasides the frontiers of Islam had been practically fixed. The Abbasides promoted Christian contribution to Muslim learning, asked Christians to translate Plato, Aristotle and the classical Greek writers and even gave them freedom of preaching their religion. The following extracts from the Ahkamul Quran of Baihaqi gives us Imam Shafi'i's opinion on the matter.³

-
1. Siratus Nabi, Vol. I, p. 427.
 2. Siratus Nabi, Vol. I, pp. 444-446
 3. Imam Shafi'i's great work, the Ikhtilafatul Hadis (Contradictions between the Hadis), is not available at Aligarh, but the learned Egyptian editor of Baihaqi's work certifies that his quotation from Imam Shafi'i are correct.

"Shafi'i has said: 'God has ordered: 'Fight against those who do not believe in Allah and the Day of Judgement and who do not forbid what Allah and his Prophet have forbidden and who do not join the true faith from among the people of the book till they give the jizya with their hands and they are subdued (p. 51)'...and (in the matter) the Arab and non-Arabs are to be treated equally." (p. 53)

2. "But the duty of fighting the worshipper of idols from among the polytheists (mushriks) is this: Fight them if you have power over them (iz qudira alaihim) till they accept Islam and it is not permitted to you by the Quran and the Sunnah of the Prophet to accept jizya from them (p. 53)

(Now the essence of such a postulate is the conditional clause - "if you have power over them" and if this clause is omitted, the whole meaning of Imam Shafi'i's postulate is changed. He was not advising the Muslims to perish in a hopeless struggle against all non-Muslims. Also living in the heart of what was once pagan Arabia, the Imam could not fail to realise that while Islam could liquidate Arab idolatry, it would have to make permanent terms with the Jews and the Christians. This is the basis of the practical distinction between 'the people of the book' and the 'idol-worshippers'. Imam Shafi'i is silent about the Hindus but he distinctly says: "The Prophet of Allah has permitted the acceptance of jizya from the Magians" (Ahkamul Quran, Vol. II, p. 53) And from the view-point of the medieval Muslim begis, the Hindus and the Magians (Zoroastrians) were in exactly the same category. But this is not all)

"Imam Shafi'i says: 'War has been made obligatory against non-Muslims who are not people of the book till they accept Islam and against the people of the book till they pay the jizya. But the Quran also states, 'Allah does not impose upon any person a duty beyond his power' (Sura II, verse 276). Consequently, only that is a duty of the Musalmans which is within their power, and if they are helpless about a matter, then they are not in duty bound to do what is beyond their power. So there is no punishment for the Musalmans if they refrain from fighting a group of polytheists and make peace with them.' (p. 62)"

..."And Imam Shafi'i continues: 'The Prophet of God made peace with the people of Mecca at Hudaibia; it was peace between them for ten years, and during this journey the revelation came to him, 'we have granted to you a clear victory so that God may forgive you' (Sura XLVIII, verse 1-2).'" (Ahkamul Quran, p. 62)

"And Imam Shafi'i says, Ibn-i Shahab has said, 'There was no greater victory for Islam than the treaty of Hudaibia'; and Shahab added, 'People joined Islam and became true-believers.'"

The terms of the Hudaibia treaty, concluded between the Prophet and the Quraish in 6 A.H. are well-known. Maulana Shibli enumerate them as follows: (1) The Musalmans (who had gone with the intention of a pilgrimage to Mecca) were to return to Medina that year. (2) They were to come next year but were to return after staying at Mecca for three days. (3) They were to come unarmed; they could bring their swords, but the swords were to be kept in their sheaths and the sheaths in their bags.

1. Political Theory of the Delhi Sultanate, pp 50-51

(4) They were not to take away with them any Musalman who had been residing at Mecca, but if any Muslim pilgrim wished to remain at Mecca, they would not prevent him from doing so. (5) If a Kafir or a Musalman went to Medina, he would be returned, but if a Musalman went to Mecca, he would not be returned. (6) Lastly the Arab tribes would be free to enter into compacts with either party. The Prophet's companion had great resentment against the inequality embodied in clauses 4 and 5; but the Prophet insisted on the acceptance of the treaty because it gave him freedom of preaching, and the sequel proved that he was right.

Most educated Musalmans would today agree that the Treaty of Hudaibia based on the principle of Free choice in religious matters - a principle that is also supported by several Qur'anic injunctions - is the interpretation of the Prophet's creed.

(3) But bad days were to follow. So far as the period, 847-1218, is concerned the Shari'at books definitely shows a increase in the religious hate-cult. However their hate-cult goes back not to the Prophet, but starts with Mutawakkil son of Mu'tasin; (847-851 A.D.) a drunken fanatic who completely changed the tolerant policy of the Abbaside Caliphate. "In 849-50 A.D. Mutawakkil ordered all people of the book and zimmais; the Rauzatus Safa tells us, 'to wear a gridle round their waists and to stitch a mark on their clothes. There had been no such rule before. No Jew or Zorastrians was to be employed in the Diwan (Ministry of Revenue) and the graves of non-Muslims were to be level with the ground...In 853-4 he

ordered that they were only to ride on asses and camels." Mutawakkil met the end he deserved. One of his Turkish officers, Baga, mounted the steps of the throne and killed Mutawakkil, who had been drinking for a longtime, with two blows of his sword.¹

There were plenty of non-Muslim minorities in Muslim lands; their standard of living was probably higher than of their Muslim neighbours, because they were trained in business and were allowed to take interest. It was tempting to excite Muslim hatred against them. The popularity of a writer on the shari'at was sure to be proportioned to his fanaticism, and so there was a great temptation for the mullahs to be fanatical. The leading shari'at text-books of the period are the Fatawa-i Qazi Khan and the Hedayah; but many smaller books also appeared. It is unnecessary however, to discuss them here, for they are all incorporated in the Fatawa-i Alamgiri, which will be discussed in the next section.

(4) "The wheels of God grind slowly but they grind exceedingly small." Nothing has caused a greater harm to Islam than the doctrine of jehad as preached by the fanatical mullahs; on a conservative estimate it has meant the loss of four Muslim lives for one non-Muslim life. In 1218 A.D. Chengiz Khan began his famous march against Mawaraun Nahr and Persia with some 90,000 Mongols and all Muslim impudence about jehad and the inborn inferiority of the infidels completely vanished at the mere news of his coming. There was a wholesale massacre of Muslims, both in the cities and the countryside, such as the world has not seen before or since

1. Persian text published by Newal Kishore, Vol. III, pp. 162-3.

Ata Malik Juwayni in his Tarikh-i Jahan Gusha calculates that out of 100,000 Muslims only 100 survived. A large number of prosperous cities like Tirmiz, Balkh, Naishapur, etc. completely disappeared, the land was ploughed up and sown with barley. At Merv the survivors succeeded in counting over a million corpses; and about the same number of corpses were counted at Herat. There could be no question of insulting non-Muslims any further. All Musalmans tried to learn the Mongol tongue, for that was the only means for assuring a livelihood. The ulema quickly forgot their old ideas and were prepared to eat humble pie at the behest of the Mongol conqueror as is illustrated by following incident narrated by Al Fakhri. "when the emperor Halaku conquered Baghdad in A.H. 656, he ordered that a ruling be obtained from the doctors of law as to whether a just infidel emperor were better or a blieving unjust emperor. Then the doctors assembled for this purpose in the Mustansiriyah, but when they had considered the ruling, they hesitated to reply. Raziuddin Ali son of Tawa was present at this meeting. He was senior and respected. When he saw their reluctance, he took the ruling and signed it, as preferring the just infidel to the unjust believer. The others signed after him.¹

It is true that the Mongols were converted to Islam in the course of the century. But the lands of Muslim Asia could not regain their lost prosperity for two or three centuries. Ata Malik said that if the surviving Musalmans multiplied till the end of time, they would not be able to reach their former number.

1. C.E.J. Whitting, Al Fakhri (p. 14)

Hamdullah Mustaufi says in his Nuzhatul Qulub that the revenues of Iran in the first and second decade of the thirteenth century were hardly a third of what they had been prior to the Mongal invasions.

CHAPTER XI

The Fatawa-i Alamgiri on the Non-Muslims

All books on the shariat contain a chapter, called Kitabus Siyar (Book on Morals), dealing with non-Muslims. All these chapters suffers from some radical defects, they are untrue to the Prophet's traditions; they are also untrue to the facts of life. The 'ulema also caused confusion by jumping into military matters concerning which they had little knowledge; they applied to the paid armies of later days the rules that the Prophet had applied to volunteers; and they violated the basis of military discipline by extending to every Muslim soldier the right of giving protection to the enemy on behalf of the whole community - a thing permitted by the law of the Prophet, but absolutely impossible in later times.

In this chapter, as in the rest of the Fatawa-i Alamgiri, Shaikh Nizam proved unequal to his task. Also the secondary authorities brought together were composed before the discovery of gunpower, radically changed the art of war.

I : Jihad or Holy War - the Prophet had rationally divided the Arabs into three groups - (a) Musalmans who were prepared to die for their creed; (b) hostile non-Muslims who were prepared to fight the Musalmans and (c) neutral non-Muslims, who did not feel concerned about the matter, but were prepared to accept the dominance of the successful party. But the Fatawa-i Alamgiri, following its predecessors, divides the whole globe into two parts on a purely theological basis- the Darul Harb (infidel land) and Darul Islam (land of Islam). " It should be known", says the Fatawa¹ " that the Darul Harb can

1. I have hereafter referred to the Fatawa-i Alamgiri simply as the Fatawa.

become Darul Islam on one condition only - the Commandments (Ahkam) of Islam must be enforced there. Imam Mohammad has said in the Ziadat that according to Imam Abu Hanifa a Darul Islam becomes Darul Kufr if three conditions are fulfilled - (a) the commandments of infidelity are publicly proclaimed and no orders are given according to the Commandments of Islam; (b) the territory adjoins other Darul Harbs and there is no Darul Islam between it and the other Darul Harb; (c) no Musalman or protected non-Muslim has the security left which he had before.¹ No place can be found in this definition for countries like China, Turkistan and Mongolia, where full freedom of religion was allowed.

The Fatawa, like its predecessor, has no place for any wars except theological wars or jeihad. A jeihad to be valid must fulfil at least two conditions. First, there must be no treaty with the non-Muslim group concerned, secondly there must be a certainty of success. It is not permitted to lead the Musalmans to annihilation under the pretext of jeihad.

It is unnecessary for us to bother about the futile discussions as to whether a man could go to a jeihad without the permission of his creditor, a slave without the permission of his master or a trustee without making arrangements about his trust. Long before these books were written the state had come to depend upon enlisted armies and the right of State to the service of the enlisted soldier overrode all other claims.

1. Fourth edition, Vol. III, p. 415. But quite contrary to the above the following statement is also made without reference to any authority: 'Imam Mohammad and Imam Yusuf have said that one fact alone converts a Darul Islam into a Darul Kufr - the publication of the commands of Kufr' (p. 415)

(b) War - Before non-Muslims are attacked they should be invited to accept Islam or pay jizya. According to Hidayah it is a sin to embark war against those to whom Islam has not been explained. In the course of the war munjanies or catapults may be used against the forts, trees cut and crops destroyed, but it is not permitted to kill women or children, mad man or person who are too old to fight. Christian monks, who are living a retired life in their monasteries, must not be attacked and corpses should not be mutilated.¹

(c) Treaties - It is permitted to the leader of the Musalman to make treaties with non-Muslims and also truces that may extend to more than ten years on terms that are advantageous to the Musalmans. Agreements made must be honestly kept, in particular if a public agreement on which the non-Muslims are relying is denounced by the Musalmans, sufficient time should be given to them to repair their forts and collect their troops. The authority of the Hedaya is quoted to the effect that it is permitted to guarantee any free musalman, man or woman to guarantee protection to a group of non-Muslims, or to a non-Muslim city or fort, and such a guarantee shall be binding, but if the leader (Imam) of the Musalmans considers such a guarantee unwise he can denounce it by informing the non-Muslims. Similarly if the Musalmans by agreement pass through a Darul Harb territory, they should adhere to the terms of the agreement and not injure the inhabitants during their passage.

1. Fatava, pp. 342-348.

(1) Spils - Property won from the infidels by war is called ghanimat (spoils) and that which is obtained without war, like khiraj or jizya is called fai'i. The State is entitled to take one-fifth from the spoils but not from the fai'i; so the Ghayatul Rayan states various authorities are quoted to show the desirability of leaving enough land and the means of cultivation with the conquered non-Muslims so that they may be able to pay a tribute from the produce of the land.

"The leader (Imam) of the Musalmans taking one-fifth as the share of the state will distribute the rest of the spoils among the army. According to Imam Abu Hanifa a footman is to get one share and a horseman is to get two shares. But according to Imam Muslim and Imam Bukhari and the Hedaya the horseman is to get three shares. The commanders of the army will have the same share as is given to the warrior (i.e. share of a horseman if he fights on a horse, otherwise the share of a footman); this is said in the Sirajish... A man who has several horses will only get the share of one horseman. No difference in the quality and breed of horses is to be considered. Persons who are mounted on camels, asses or donkeys will be considered footman... The one-fifth kept by the leader is to be divided into three parts - one part for orphans, another for destitute persons and third for travellers."

Care must be taken that the scriptures of the Jews and the Christians, which have been seized by the Muslim army do not fall into their hands again; they are not to be burnt, but they may be buried underground or given

1. Fatawa, Vol. III, pp. 378 and 381.

to Musalmans who will not sell them. The crosses and statuettes of the Christians, if made of a precious metal, must be broken before they are distributed. But coins with the mark of the cross or human figures upon them need not be broken.¹

(e) Supremacy of the Infidels - When the infidels are supreme, they will not be bound by the shari'at. The shari'at books however, consider the question of private rights in Muslim lands, e.g. the question whether a slave who has fled from a land conquered by non-Muslims can be claimed by his former master. The discussion of the topic is too long to be summarised, but the following sentence may be given as a specimen: If the Turkish kafirs conquer the Roman Kafirs and take them captive, they will become owners of the Romans and their property. If after that we conquer the Turkish kafirs, then whatever they have taken away from Rome will be lawfully ours, in spite of the facts that there is a compact between us and Rome.²

(f) Trade - Trade with Darul Harb is permitted, subjected to mutual agreement. But a Musalman must not take armaments, or material from which armaments can be made, to a Darul Harb. Also a non-Muslim who brings armaments into Darul Islam cannot take them back again.

(g) Ushr and Khiraj - If only one-tenth of the produce was taken and the cultivator was a Musalman, the land was said to be ushri. But in case of non-Muslim cultivators the king could take such tribute (khiraj) as he liked, provided it was not above half the total produce. If

1. Fatawa, Vol. III, p. 383.

2. Fatawa, Vol. III, p. 401.

the khiraj was taken in kind, it was known as Khiraj-i mudasima; if the khiraj was taken in the form of fixed money rent, it was known as khiraj-i muazzaf. But having two types of land tax was very confusing; also the state would stand to lose with every conversion, for the amount of Khiraj was higher than ushr. So two rules were laid down. "If a non-Muslim cultivator who was paying khiraj, accepted Islam, he would continue to pay khiraj as before. Conversely if a Muslim purchased khiraji land from a non-Muslim; he would have to pay the khiraj which was being taken from the land before." The Fatawa attributes both principles to the Medaya.¹

(1) Jizya - Jizya is of two kinds — first, the jizha fixed by agreement as has been done by the Prophet with the Christians of Najran; this fixed amount cannot be changed by the unilateral action of either. "The second type of jizya is that which the Muslim conqueror imposes on the kafirs after generously leaving their proper property to them; so says the kafi."² As the contents of this section are summarised in Aurangzeb's Jizya Ordinance, it is not necessary to discuss them here.

(j) Non-Muslim Places of Worship — The Fatawa quotes the following from the Siraj-i Wahhaj: "If the Imam conquers a non-Muslim people and then thinks that they should be made into zimmis and impose a khiraj upon them, instead of distributing the land among the Muslim conquerors, as Hazrat Umar did in the neighbourhood of Kufa — then this is permitted; then non-Muslims will become zimmis and will not be prevented from building

1. Fatawa, Vol. III, p. 430.

2.

church falls down, the Christians will be allowed to reconstruct it; but they will not be allowed to extend it or to construct another church in its place elsewhere.

(8) By the term 'old', according to Ghayatul Bayan is meant the time when the place was brought under the control of the Musalmans and not the time of the Prophet and his Companions.¹

(k) Regulations for the degradation of non-Muslims
— "It is most unbecoming," says the Fatawa, "that any zimmi should be allowed to ride or dress like the Musalmans or to adopt their ways of life." But Imam Mohammad says that in so far as this matter is regulated by treaty, the treaty must be followed, and if the treaty says that the non-Muslims shall be distinguished from the Musalmans by ~~th~~ one mark only, then there can be no increase on that one mark.

But if a non-Muslim country has been conquered by the blows of the sword, then the Muslim ruler can make whatever regulations he likes. According to the Sharh Mukhtar the object is to distinguish them by marks which according to the custom of the time, 'may prove their degradation, low status and helplessness.' It was thus open to writers of shari'at books to suggest ways for the degradation of the zimmis. The following are some of the more important suggestions: -- (1) The zimmis should not be allowed to ride on horses, except when on State-duty, and even then they should dismount when they come across a number of Musalmans (Nohit). (2) They should be asked to construct akaf-saddles, i.e. a saddle with a ball at the pommel. They will not be prevented from riding asses and donkeys, but they must

chapels, churches, fire-temples or from selling wine and pig's flesh or any of those acts which we have described with reference to their religion".

This example of the Second Caliph was completely ignored by the text-books on the shari'at.

What the Fatawa says on the basis of its authorities may be briefly summarised as follows: (1) There is a general agreement that the Christians should not be allowed to build new chapels or churches or the Magians new fire-temples in the cities of the Musalman. (2) But there is a difference of opinion about the building of new places of worship by Christians and Magians in rural areas. The Fatawa-i Qazi Khan is quoted as an authority for stating that the Shaikhs of Balkh were against this, except in villages where the majority of inhabitants were zimmis, while the Shaikhs of Bokhara permitted it. (3) No new non-Muslim places of worship could be constructed anywhere in Arabia. (4) The construction of a new sauri'a - a place of worship for one man only - was prohibited in the same way as churches and fire-temples, but there was no objection to a person constructing a place for saying prayers in his own house. This is the statement of Ghayatul Bayan. (5) There is a general agreement that old chapels and churches standing in the rural areas and the suburbs of the towns will not be touched. (6) As to (old) chapels and churches in Muslim towns, Imam Mohammad in his Ijarat says that they will be allowed to stand while the Kitabul 'Ushr wal Khirai says that they must be pulled down. However, the Shamsul A'imma Sarakhsi says that in his opinion Imam Mohammad is correct and this is the opinion of Fatawa-i Qazi Khan also. (7) If a chapel or

not have saddles like the saddles of the Musalmans (Kafi)

(3) They must not be allowed to wear Chaddrs, turbans, and cloaks like the ulema of Islam; also they must not have headgears and shoes like the Musalmans. (4) They should not have broad waist-bands tied in a circle at the front; they should have cords of wood or cotton tied in a knot at the front. (Shaikhul Islam Sarakhsi)

(5) They should not be allowed to wear shirts or cloaks of silk but only cotton cloaks the skirt of which are not very long. (6) Their women must have collar of iron round their necks and their trousers must be different from the trousers of Muslim Women. (7) The Fatawa-i Qazi Khan says that zimmis should not be allowed to wear arms and that the Musalmans should behave in such a way that they are insulted in the public street.

(8) Some marks were to be put over the door of their houses to distinguish them from the houses of the Musalmans, so that beg ars may not stand before their houses and pray for their salvation. (9) The following regulations were suggested for the control of Christians. They were not to beat their wooden gongs in their houses in Muslim cities or collect their fellow Christians for prayer in their houses; they must pray alone. They were not to carry ~~eer~~ crooses out of their churches. If they recite the Old or the New Testament loudly, they will be prohibited from doing so if they contain expression of shirk, but if they contain no expression of shirk there will be no prohibition. They will not be allowed to recite their scriptures in the markets of the Musalmans. They will be prohibited from selling wine and pigs openly in the cities and the suburbs; but if they are far from the city suburbs then there is no harm in carrying the cross or beating their wooden gngs.

These are individual suggestions of writers on the shari'at, whose books were in Arabic and consequently not within the reach of the public. There were occasions when both the rulers and the ruled went mad owing to transcendent fanatical passions. But it should not be imagined that the provisions against non-Muslims brought together in Fatawa-i Alangiri in any way represented the policy of the States of Persia and Central Asia. But terrible days of which the Shari'at authorities had never dreamed were in store for Musalmans. First the Chinese Qara Khaties defeated Sultan Sanjar and levied a tribute from the rulers of Mawaraun Nahr and Khwarazm. Then the ill-fated Kuchlak, who was a Christian compelled the Musalmans of Turkestan to choose between dressing as Christians or as Chinese; the crucification of one or two religious scholars cowed the whole Muslim community. Hard on the heels of Kuchlak came the Chinggis Mongols who brought not insult but death. For the next three generations both Musalmans and Christians were humble suppliants at the Courts of the Mongol princes.

CHAPTER XII

The policy of Aurangzeb- the Second Decade of the reign.

I

No examination of the career of Aurangzeb, however microscopic, will reveal even a second rate genius of any sort . We cannot rank him among the great generals of India- let alone foreign lands. Aurangzeb's Deccan enterprise is a pathetic tragedy compared with Malik Kafur's achievements in the same area under much more difficult circumstances. Malik Kafur, acting under Alauddin's instructions, left the peasantry alone and went straight against the forts of the rajas, his rapid marches in a semiexplored land stand in sharp contrast with the slow crawling of Aurangzeb's indisciplined force, which at its best covered four to six miles a day. Malik Kafur and his right hand man, Khwaja Haji, saw to the proper feeding of men and the proper supply of horses. Aurangzeb on the other hand, in spite of long and bitter experience, could never understand the A.B.C. of supply and transport arrangements, he left his soldiers to their own devices or to the tender mercies of the corn-merchants (banjaras) who preferred to march with the army. The Jang-i-qazaa, (cossack-warfare) which paralysed the armies of Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb, would have proved futile against Kafur. The invention of gunpower, as Timur proved, had made it easier to capture even the most well-constructed forts. But one has only to compare the accounts of the siege of Rantambhor and

Chitor by Alauddin Khilji and of Warangal by Malik Kafur with Aurangzeb's siege of Golkonda to realise how low Aurangzeb had fallen. We are fortunate in having vivid descriptions of the former by Amir Khusran and Ziauddin Barni and of the latter by Nimat Khan-i Ali. Both Bernier and Manucci have expressed the opinion that Aurangzeb's ill-disciplined and disorganised army could have been defeated by some 30,000 well-armed and well-disciplined European soldiers. They are probably right. In the matter of military inefficiency Aurangzeb can be compared with Firoz Shah alone among the rulers of India. But Firoz Shah had the good sense of leaving the Deccan alone, Aurangzeb was unfortunately unfortunate.

It is not to be expected that every ruler of India will be gifted with military talents. Alauddin was a military genius, still his Delhi Kotwal, Ala-ul-Mulk, gave him the correct advice that he should remain at the capital and assign the conquest of the provinces to his generals, for the security of the emperor at the centre creates a feeling of confidence in the whole empire. Aurangzeb would have been well-advised to follow this precept.

Among his ancestors, Babur had learnt the art of war through the long process of trial and error. Humayun, who had no alternative but to be his own commander-in-Chief, marched to Gujrat on one side and to Gaur on the other, but his strategical blunders led to his defeat in both regions. Akbar was a good soldier and a good general, he said he could not bear to see a bird being sacrificed, but on the field of battle he was prepared to fight any horseman he came across and delighted in

the personal combats that were possible for him. Still a careful study of his early campaigns shows that he never took any unnecessary risks, and it was only after he had decisively crushed Khan-i Zaman and his throne was safe, that he undertook the conquest of far-off provinces. Jahangir knew that he was no general, as a prince he simply avoided fighting, inspite of his father's orders, after his accession to the throne he depended upon others- Shaikh Farid Bukhari, Shah Jahan, and later on, Mahabat Khan- for the prosecution of military enterprises. Shah Jahan was no warrior, and he insisted while a prince on not undertaking any military venture unless the resources placed at his disposal made success certain. Aurangzeb's position was peculiar. As a Prince he had lost the three enterprises- the Uzbek war and the two sieges of Candhar- assigned to him. Nevertheless he succeeded in getting a military reputation. During the war of Succession all his battles, with the possible exception of the battle of Dharmat, were managed by others. But he mounted the throne over the body of his rivals, and even the critical Bernier declared that he was 'a great King.' It was not till he began his Deccan enterprise in 1681 that the hallowness of his military command became visible. Aurangzeb could not like many of his great predecessors - Shahabuddin Ghorî, Aibek, Iltutmish, Allauddin Khilji, and Mohammad bin Tughlaq, Babur and Akbar- conduct a campaign in person. He never entered into a personal combat with anybody, except during the battles of the war of succession, he kept away from the fire-line.

But he insisted on keeping the supreme command in his hands, and as one futile year followed another, all his high officers were convinced of the incompetence of his directing authority. They were sometimes insolent, still Aurangzeb succeeded in maintaining his personal dignity during his life-time even after his death.

In his letter to his imprisoned father, Aurangzeb talks as if he was a very competent king, devoted to the public weal. But it is impossible to consider Aurangzeb an efficient administrator. A part from the revenue administration of Murshid Quli Khan in the Deccan (which was fortunately recorded by Sadiq and copied by Khafi Khan), there is not a single properly executed measure for the public weal which stands to his credit. It is true that he gave some good orders (which have been duly recorded by Mamurim Khafi Khan and others) but they were ignored by his officers. Mohammadbin Tughlaq had given orders ten times more difficult, but officers who ignored them were severely punished. But inflicting punishments was not possible for Aurangzeb, this was partly due to the fact that he had obtained the throne with the help of the mansabdars, and when some of the great mansabdars, like Najabat Khan, committed crimes amounting to murder, Aurangzeb had no alternative but to overlook them. Humanity was not a guiding principle for Aurangzeb, when he was not afraid of consequences, he quite forgot the Prophet's insistent prohibition of torture- as in the case of Sambhaji. Aurangzeb's inability to punish his officers

was fundamentally due to his character, he was a man of craft and quite, deeply suspicious of every one and even after becoming the head of the State, he thought it would be easier to obtain his ends by underground methods. As a result the working of enormous administrative and military machine of the Mughal empire kept declining from year to year. During this degeneration, as Khafi Khan points out, 'a feast of plunder' was spread all over the Deccan owing to corruption, oppression, embezzlement and similar measures that had to the temporary prosperity of the officers of the State. But with the cultivation of the Deccan ruined and the number of officers constantly increasing, no land for allotment as jagirs was left. The situation has been described by Mamuri and is well summed up in the sentence. "The world (i.e the official world) was left without any jagir." Nevertheless, Aurangzeb succeeded in saving his reputation. While his officers were embezzling millions and millions, the emperor, whose duty it was to prevent this corruption, not only looked the other way but managed to get a reputation for himself by legends to the effect that he was earning his own livelihood by making skull-caps etc. and selling them in a way that the public could not discover.

Though Aurangzeb governed India for some fifty years, he has left us nothing great or good by which he can be remembered. Both Babur and Jahangir have left us their wonderful Tuzaks (Memories). Akbar laid the

foundation of Mughal architecture and painting, and Jahangirs' discernment as an art critic and his fondness for mystic songs and poetry is well-known. Shah Jahan had many defects of character and policy, but no one who has seen the Taj (let alone his other buildings) will fail to render his homage to the designer and builder of India's most beautiful edifice. As against this, all that survives to us from Aurangzeb is (a) a record of how he ruined the administrative system which Akbar had built and Jahangir and Shah Jahan had preserved, (b) a heap of letters, most of them not written by himself,¹ (c) the volumes of the Fatawa-i Alangi, a useful collection of secondary material made by Arabic-knowing clerks who brought no rational scholarship or Synthetic reason to their task and, (d) lastly, a futile, unsuccessful but mischievous attempt to convert the country of many cults into a Mati'ul Islam territory or a country governed by a small Muslim minority. Who invented this precious term is not known, but it is not contemplated by the Shari'at.

The last item deserves a careful investigation.

1. Five volumes of these letters are reviewed by Sir Jadunath Sarkar in his Studies in Aurangzeb's Reign, Chapter XVIII. Aurangzeb's letters.

II

"The world grips hard on the hard-striving," the poet Hafiz has said,¹ and few men have had a greater grip on the things of this world than Aurangzeb. He was prepared to sacrifice everything for the sake of his ambition- including of course both Islam and the Musalmans. Fortune and the policy of Shah Jahan favoured him. Shah Jahan was very anxious that Dara Shukoh must succeed him, remembering his own actions, and the history of Muslim monarchies in general, he should have allowed Dara to survive and strangled his other sons after their birth, no heavenly revelation was needed to tell him that one of his sons would slaughter the other three. Instead of that he followed the ruinous course of declaring Dara to be his successor and keeping him at the court, while Aurangzeb was assigned the hardest tasks and sent to govern different provinces. In the course of his apprenticeship Aurangzeb had an intimate contact with a large number of mansabdars and must have won them over. There was at least one quality to recommend him, he investigated matters personally and decided for himself, and he would never be a tool in the hands of an ambitious politician or a clique. In case he came to the throne, every mansabdar -was confident that Aurangzeb would decide all matters appertaining to him on the basis of his own judgement, and in this they were not

1. "Sakht megerad jahan bar marduman-i Sakht Kosh."

mistaken. Though the details could not have been settled in advance, Aurangzeb's officers seem to have decided that they would not allow Shah Jahan to stand in his way.

Mr. Syed Athar Ali of the Aligarh History Department, who has spent seven years in studying all available material appertaining to Aurangzeb and his officers, has come to two definite conclusions:- first, that no religious issue was involved in the war of succession, and, secondly, that during the first ten years of his reign, Aurangzeb did not change the traditional policy of the empire.¹

No reader of Khafi Khan and Mamuri will have any difficulty in accepting either proposition. When the War of Succession started, every mansabdar followed the Shahzada under whom he was serving, but the majority of the Hindu rajas with their Watan-jagirs were directly subordinate to the centre and they fought for Dara Shukoh. But Aurangzeb's victory at Dharmat completely changed the situation, Shah Jahan was now a prisoner and Dara a fugitive. Jai Singh, inspite of his victory over Shuja near Banaras, decided to join Aurangzeb and advised his friend, Diler Khan, not to make a fool of himself by following Sulaiman Shukah's fallen fortunes. Thereafter all rajas joined Aurangzeb. Aurangzeb had decided that the mansabdars of his brothers, who joined him at any time- even after being defeated in open battle would be taken into his service on the same grade or with increase of grade. Their past conduct in

1. Paper read before the History Congress at Aligarh. (1960).

fighting against him would not be considered a charge against them at any time. Some of Aurangzeb's best officers had formerly been in the service of his brothers. The same policy was followed with reference to rajas who were mansabdars, and we find the sons of rajas, who had died fighting against him, were allowed to retain their Watan-jagirs. In the extreme case of Jaswant Singh, as is well-known, Aurangzeb offered the governorship of Gujrat to the raja (who had fled from his camps at Bahadurpur) merely to prevent him from joining Dara.

The first decade of Aurangzeb saw two Hindus raised to offices which no Hindu had held before. Raja Raghunath was made wazir at the Centre, while the highest provincial charge, the Viceroyalty of the Deccan, was given to Raja Jai Singh. Both officers discharged their duties well. Nevertheless the Mughal officers were decisively beaten in two important regions, while in the third Aurangzeb failed because he lacked the vision of Jai Singh.

1 " The crocking Ahom frogs have kicked the dying Bengal elephant while the government and people of India looded on," Dr. R.C. Mufandar says in the Dedication to one of his latest books. It is an old Ahom habit. They had brought Bakhteyar Khilji to grief at the beginning of the thirteenth century. It was also their privilege to give the first kick to the Mughal elephant, which to all appearances seemed quite healthy. Mir Jomla had officially broken the temples of the conquered people and insulted their religion, he tried to protect the peasantry but his efforts in that respect proved

unavailing. The old Jewel merchant of seventy, who was a master of chicanery and intrigue, tried to make a good show as a general. But his whole plan of campaign, which ignored the basic factors of the monsoon, the post-monsoon diseases, the needs of the commissariat and the bitter hostility of the population, was fundamentally idiotic. So by a popular mass-movement, which we can easily understand, but which was quite beyond Aurangzeb's limited comprehension, the Mughal troops were driven pell-mell out of Kuch Bihar and Assam. Shah Jahan had suffered a great loss of prestige owing to his defeats at the hands of the Uzbecks and the Persians. But here were two small rajahs, who had defeated the Mughal empire and even captured a part of Mughal territory (Gouhati or Mughal Assam) which Aurangzeb, in spite of his efforts was unable to recover. Mohammad Kazim, writing at Aurangzeb's order, finds it impossible to explain this debacle except by the admission that the Indian peasantry was treated by its own rajahs better than by the officers of the empire. It is a confession of terrible import (1662-63)

(2) In April 1663, Shaista Khan, who had been sent against Shivaji, came to grief in a way that is well known. In 1664 Shivaji plundered Surat for the first time and collected a crore in spoils, Raja Jai Singh, who was sent against him, knew very well that if he tried to conquer and annex Maharashtra out right, he would meet the fate of Mir Jumla and the Mughal troops would be driven from the lands. So he preferred to

make a compromise which would leave Shivaji his Watan-jagir and a post of honour in the Mughal Empire. Sir Jadunath Sarkar has explained at length the chain of accidents owing to which Shivaji did not receive at Aurangzeb's court the reception that had been planned for him. Still Aurangzeb had enough time to rectify these errors by contacting Shivaji directly or through intermediaries, but he preferred to waste time in a useless correspondence with Jai Singh. After all it was the emperor's sole privilege to decide what Shivaji's status in the empire should be, Jai Singh could take no responsibility in the matter. Shivaji very wisely fled back to Rajgarh and devoted the next two years to the consolidation of his power. He was an independent ruler now and in 1668 Aurangzeb recognised his title as Raja. Six years later Shivaji crowned himself in accordance with the accepted Hindu rites and the Brahmans manufactured a genealogy for him, declaring him to be a true Kshatriya descended from the highest Rajput class, the Sisodias of Mewar.

(5) In the winter of 1666 Jai Singh was ordered to proceed against Bijapur and an order was given for the total destruction of the Bijapur peasantry on the ground that they were infidels and 'superstitious'. Jai Singh has no authority to negotiate. The Bijapur officers, on their part, also decided to follow a scorched earth policy. Jai Singh could not come within striking distance of Bijapur city, he was defeated and driven back and died broken-hearted. It was not

to be expected that another officer would succeed where Jai Singh had failed. It is true, as Khafi remarks, that the Bijapuris did not see a happy day after Jai Singh invasion. But Aurangzeb also found it hard to explain his failure. He ordered Mohammad Kazim to write that the conquest of Bijapur had not been intended but only the destruction of the peasantry. The Mughal empire under Aurangzeb was rapidly becoming an institution for plundering the innocent and the helpless.

(4) In January 1666, Shah Jahan died, and Aurangzeb who had already imprisoned his own eldest son, went through all the ceremonies of mourning for the father, whom he had so grievously wronged but from whom he was now absolutely safe. In March of the same year the Yusufzais rebelled at Peshawar and an expansion of the rebellion and a fourth crushing Mughal defeat of some sort seemed inevitable.

But about this time there was a change in Aurangzeb's policy. It is best indicated by his stoppage of the official history after the tenth year of his reign. He had ordered Mohammad Kazim to write a volume on the first eighteen years of his reign. Shah Jahan had left the censorship of his official histories to his officers, like Sa'dullah and Alaul Mulk Tuni, but Aurangzeb had directed Kazim to write under his personal direction. But as year followed year, Aurangzeb found that he was driven either to the suppression of facts or to the utterings of lies. Had the Alamsir Namah been continued for the whole of Aurangzeb's reign, it would

probably have been the greatest book of lies in the long history of India with just two redeeming features—correct dates (when given) and a correct record of higher official promotions. However, the stoppage of the official history was a clear indication to the public — and in any case to the mansabdars — that the policy of the empire was changing. What the change would be, they did not know and were not allowed to anticipate. The initiative lay with the emperor. So we need not be surprised that thirteen years passed before Mamuri took up his pen to make an incomplete list of what had happened. Aurangzeb has left no record of his thoughts and he took no one— not even his soul— into his confidence. Still his policy and his actions give some indication of his inner thoughts.

III

We do not know how Aurangzeb was educated. That Dara was an accomplished scholar of Persian and Sanskrit is proved by his two great works, the Majma'ul Bahrain and Sirr-i Akbar,¹ which had been published before the War of Succession. Khafi Khan says that Itmad Khan was one of Aurangzeb's teachers but tells us nothing more. No reliance can be placed upon the complaints which, according to Bernier and Manucci, Aurangzeb made to his teacher for not being educated properly. But the Alamgir Namah tells us that in spite of the terrible preoccupations

1. This is a translation of about 57 upanishads. The Persian text has been edited by Dr. Tara Chand and Agha Naini and printed in Iran.

of the War of Succession, Aurangzeb had committed the Quran to memory and that he was studying the Kinaya-i Sa'adat and the Ahya-ul Uloom of Imam Ghazzali. The latter is a long work in Arabic and can only be studied by one who is well-acquainted with that language. At the same time he had made a copy of the Quran. It has to be admitted, frankly, that Aurangzeb was a very industrious student all his life, specially with reference to theological matters. In the second decade of his reign he directed Shaikh Nizam, who was more of a courtier than a scholar, to have the Fatawa-i Alamgiri compiled and the work was finished in about six or seven years.

Before venturing to examine the policy on which Aurangzeb now embarked, some preliminary matters have to be clarified.

(a) The religious Scholars of Islam were divided into two groups throughout the middle ages- the mystics or ulama-idinawi (or ulama-i Batini) and the externalist Scholars or ulama-i zahiri. Both groups were educated in the same syllabus- the Quran, Quranic commentaries and the Prophet's precepts (hadises). But they differed in their interpretations. The ulama-izahiri interpreted all sacred scriptures literally and mechanistically. The mystics, on the other hand, blieved in a spiritual interpretation of the sacred texts. Another source of distinction was their attitude to the government. The externalists scholars kept appealing to the state for posts, pensions, land-grants (madad-ima'ash) and the like. The mystics, except in the days of their degeneration, believed in remaining independent of the State.

The mystics gave the name of tariqat to their ways of life, while the mullahs or externalist scholars kept on repeating the Shariat text-books. Aurangzeb must be definitely classed with the mullahs, for his conception of Islam was materialistic and mechanistic.

(b) The mullahs, who were dependent for their livelihood upon the state, were always crying for some measures against the Hindus. But the great constructive statesmen of the middle ages always avoided raising the religious question. When a deputation of ulama called upon Iltutmish and asked him to suppress the Hindus, his wazir, Nizamul Mulk, explained to them that the government was too weak for such an enterprise and the matter would be taken in hand when the time arrived. Balban told his officers that he would not undertake any campaign against the Hindu rajas as his prime duty was to protect India from the Mongols. Alauddin Khilji, who was able to fight both the Mongols and the rajas, said frankly that he was concerned with the public good which he sought on the basis of experience and that he did not know what the Shariat was. Mohammad bin Tughlaq, according to Ziauddin Barni, knew a good part of Imam Burhanuddin's Hedayah by heart, but though the Kitabus Siyar of Hedayah is much better written than the same chapter of Fatawa-i Alangiri, Mohammad bin Tughlaq never dreamt of enforcing any of its provisions, he associated with Hindu jogis (If Isami is to be believed) and put several mullahs to death. When Abul Fazl wanted to support Akbar's policy of Sulh-i Kul, he had a large mass of mystic literature which he could quote in its support. Much investigation

and time will be needed to explain how for five centuries the whole of India came to accept the principle that the emperor of Delhi and the majority of his officers should be Indianised Muslims of foreign extraction. But a delicate balance had been reached and it required a tactful handling.

(c) The policy of Akbar had naturally provoked a reactionary movement among the Musalmans. The headship of this movement is generally ascribed to Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi, to whom the title of Mujaddid-i Alf Sani (Reviver of Islam during the second millenium) has been given. But Jahangir sent him to prison and later on gave him a pension. The Shaikh's grandson, Masum, lived at the court of Aurangzeb, he got financial support from Aurangzeb and carried on some sort of propaganda. But it would be an error to consider Aurangzeb the follower of any religious teacher or the representative of a religious movement. He did everything on his own initiative.

(d) In a letter addressed to Aurangzeb in Orme's fragment, which Sir Jadunath Sarkar has attributed to Shivaji, the statement is made that the Jizyah is "unknown to the law of India." Unfortunately since the term Jizya occurs in the literature of the Sultanate period, the great historian overlooked the ambiguity of the term. The term Jizya, along with Khiraj is used, in a loose sense by the Muslim writers of the Sultanat period. A few examples should suffice. (1) In a Patah-i Nana incorporated in the Ijaz-i Khusravi of Amir Khusrau, Alauddin Khilji's general, Badr, informs the emperor that he had realised Jizya from the Musalmans of Ghaznin.

(2) Shaikh Nizamuddin, according Amir Hasan's Fawa'idul Fuwad, narrated a story in which a Muslim saint, who had cultivated barren land by the side of the Rair, was asked by the tax-collector. 'Either show me a miracle or pay the Jizya.' Here the Jizya obviously means the land-tax. But the conclusive proof that Jizya did not mean a poll-tax on a non-Muslim for remaining a non-Muslim comes from the Fatawa-i Jahandari of Ziauddin Barani. Barani speaks of the Jizya being taken from the pre-Muslim emperors of Persia from their subjects and with reference to his own time he remarks. " If the Muslim King ... is merely content to take the Jizya and the Khiraj from the Hindus and preserves both infidels and infidelity and refuses to risk his power in attempting to overthrow them, what difference will there be in this respect between the kings of Islam and the Rairs of the infidel's, or the Rairs of the infidels also exact the Jizya and Khiraj from the Hindus, who belong to their own false creed, and fill their treasures with money so obtained, in fact they collect a hundred times more taxes." ¹

Mohammad bin Qasim imposed Jizya on the Hindus of Brahmanabad but he left its collection to the Brahmins with the instruction that they should 'charge according to capacity to pay'. So we may safely assume that, the injustice due to its regressive character was removed. The only other reference to the Jizya as a poll-tax is Afif's account of its imposition on the Brahmins of Delhi

¹. Habib and Afsar : Political Theory of the Delhi Sultanate, p. 46.

by Firoz Shah. But since Firoz Shah had not the machinery required to collect a poll-tax from all the Hindus of his dominions, there is obviously some error in the tradition Afif has recorded.

IV

At the beginning of the second decade of reign, and entirely on his own initiative, Aurangzeb attempted an experiment from which all his predecessors had shrunk - the imposition of the Shariat on India. It is not necessary to repeat the thirteen items of Shariat-reform which have been related by Khafi Khan.¹ But Aurangzeb, like the shrewd man he was, proceeded first with measures with which the Hindu public was not really concerned- eg. the change of Calendar, the stoppage of Jharoka-Darshan, etc. General proclamations for the closing of taverns and the prohibition of idolatry were purely formal and no one took them seriously. On the question of the dismissal of Hindu Peshkars, Aurangzeb had to make a compromise, and he also imposed a higher transit duty on Hindus (5%) than Muslims (2½%). But in neither case was there a public protest of any sort. So on April 20, 1679. Aurangzeb ventured to issue his Jizya Ordinance with its inevitable preamble of theological insolence. The text of it has fortunately survived in the Mirat-i Ahmadi.

1. For a list of thirteen supposed Islamic Ordinance, see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, A Short History of Aurangzeb p. 101-103.

" As the all-powerful and high minded emperor bestows great care on strengthening the true religion and the firm path (Shari'at) and wants to bring all affairs of the state, revenue transactions and matters of administration within the corpus of the Shariat and introduce them (in the country): Now during this august period scholars, learned men and the faqihs, perceiving the religious mindedness of the emperor, have represented that the Jizya-tax should be imposed on the Zimmis of the protected empire as is required by the true Shariat. The rates and procedure for collecting it have been placed before the emperor from books of the fiqh.

"I Jizya should be levied upon the Zimmis of the book, Zoroastrians and idol-worshippers of Ajam, it is not to be levied upon the idol-worshippers who are at war, apostate, minors. Women, Slaves, persons whose hands and feet have been cut off, blind men, lunatics, persons mentally affected, and poor men who have no profession.

"II Twelve dirhams from the poor (fagir), twentyfour dirhams from the middle class, and forty-eight dirhams from a rich man should be realised annually as the Jizya-tax. Since at present dirhams are not current... ¹ / 1/20 of a masha is to be realised from the poor, double of it from the middle

1. The text here is not clear. It was probably intended to indicate the comparative value of gold and silver but some necessary words have been omitted.

V. After the assessment, the amount for the whole year must be realised from the rich at once. The middle class man and the poor man may be allowed to pay the annual tax in two and four instalments respectively.

"VI. Jizya-tax is cancelled of the Zimmi adopts Islam or dies.

"VII. If before the assessment of the Jizya in the first year, a Zimmi minor attains to majority, or a Zimmi slave becomes free or an infidel at war becomes a Zimmi, or a sick Zimmi recovers, the Jizya-tax of that year is to be realised from their according to their financial condition. But if any of these events happen after the assessment, the Jizya for the year is not to be realised from them.

"VIII If a man is rich at one time and poor at another time, then if he has been poor for the larger part of the year, he should pay the poor man's Jizya. If he has been rich for half the year and poor for the other half, he should be charged the Jizya of a middle class man.

"IX. If a Zimmi has been ill for one-half of the year or more, no Jizya-tax should be demanded from him.

"Ultimately Inayatullah Khan from among the imperial servants was appointed to carry out this duty. Then the imperial order was issued to the effect that Jizya-tax was not to be demanded from the (Zimmi) government servant, but from all other Zimmis it should be realised according to the Shariat.¹

1. It will be observed that the text of the Ordinance makes no reference to the Jizya as a poll-tax being levied before Aurangzeb.

All the evils which afflicted Aurangzeb during the rest of his life are to be found in this precious document. The Hindu working classes of Delhi protested against it but were helpless. We are not told of any movement among the Musalmans in favour of it. By the inevitable logic of events it led Aurangzeb to the Deccan, where he lies buried in Maratha-land. And the same logic of events brought the Marathas to Delhi. It is a great compliment to Aurangzeb's common sense and practical reason that he managed to survive such a grievous error for about three decades. Still the Mughal empire was unable to survive the shock, though it remained a name for a century and a half.

class man, and the rich man is to pay the double of what the middle class man pays. The rupee is not to be accepted and if anyone pays it in rupees, the rupees should be taken after weighing according to the above rates. Later on, when the dirhams have been minted, only dirhams will be accepted.

"III There is a difference (of opinion) in discriminating between the rich, the middle class man and the poor. So the following interpretation must be followed. A rich man is he who owns (property) worth ten thousand dirhams or more, a middle class man is one who has (property) worth two hundred dirhams and more. A man who possess less than two hundred dirham is to be considered a poorman. The Jizya-tax should be taken from them accordingly. If a poor man has no property, but his earnings are more than the needs of himself and his family, the Jizya-tax should be levied on him. If his earnings do not suffice his needs and the needs of his family, he should be exempted from the Jizya-tax

" IV. The collector of the Jizya-tax should take the Jizya from the Zimmi in the following manner. The Zimmi should come on foot to pay the Jizya-tax and should remain standing while the collector is sitting. The collector should place his hand over the hand of the Zimmi and say, 'O Zimmi pay the Jizya.' If a Zimmi sends his deputy to pay the Jizya-tax, the collector should not accept it, also the collector should not take the Jizya merely at an informal meeting.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

(I have only listed the books which have been used by me for my work. The work of compiling a complete catalogue of Persian works has been) done efficiently and well by Dr. C.A. Storey. I have seen no reason for inflating my list by referring to works only used for occasional reference, like Al Fahri, Ranzatus Safa, Tarikh-i Jahan gusha, etc.)

(A) Persian Manuscripts.

(1) The Badshah Namah of Sadiq Khan: A history of the reign of Shah Jahan. British Museum MSS OR 17, and MSS. OR 1671, and the Rampur manuscript are available at Aligarh. For further reference see Chapter I, Introduction.

(2) History of Alamgir - Continuation of Sadiq Khan's Badshah Namah, by Abul Fazal Mamuri. British Museum MSS OR 1671 and the Rampur manuscript. A transcript of the Rampur manuscript and a rotograph of the British Museum manuscript are available at Aligarh. For further reference For further reference see Chapter II, Introduction.

(3) Fatuh-at-i Alamgiri of Isar Das Nagar. This is a history of Aurangzeb's reign upto the 34th year. A rotograph of the MSS, Riev i 2699, is available at Aligarh. For further reference see Sarkar: Studies in Aurangzeb.

(4) Tarikh-i Dilkusha or Mushkaha-i Dilkusha of Bhim Sen, son of Raghunadan Das. A photograph of the MSS Riev i 271a, is available at Aligarh. For further reference see Sarkar: Studies in Aurangzeb.

(B) PERSIAN PRINTED WORKS

(5) Tarikh-i Shah Shuj'ai of Masum bin Hassan bin Salih. This is an account of the life of Shahzada Mohammad Shuj'a, and of the events which preceded and followed the accession of Aurangzeb. This book was written in 1070 A.H. (1659-60 A.D.). The author was in the service of Shahzada Mohammad Shuj'a for about twenty five years. This work has been published by Bengal Asiatic Society.

(6) Waqiat-i Alamgiri or Zafar Namah-i Alamgiri, ascribed to Aqil Khan Razi. This work has been edited by K.B. Zafar Hussan and published by the Aligarh Historical Research Institute. See also Chapter III, Introduction.

(7) Alamgir-Namah of Munshi Mohammad Kazim: Published in the Bibliotheca Indica (R.A.S.B.). For further reference see Chapter iv, Introduction.

(8) Waqai Haiderabad or Waqai Nimat Khan-i Ali : A facitions and starical account of Aurangzeb's reign of Haiderabad. For further reference see Chapter vi, Introduction.

(9) Ma'asir-i Alamgiri by Mohammad Saqi Mustaid Khan: It is a complete history of Aurangzeb's reign, the first ten years being an abridgement of the Alamgir Namah. It has been translated into English and edited by Sir Jadunath Sarkar (R.A.S.B.)

(10-11) The Padshah Namahs of Lahori and Warris:

It is the official history of the reign of Shah Jahan in three parts, each covering the period of one decade. The first two parts were written by Abdul Hamid Lahori, and the last one by Mohammad Warris. This work was compiled from State-papers, news-sheets, reports of daily occurrences at court and other official documents. It has been printed and published by Bibliotheca India Society, edited by Molvi Kabiruddin Ahmad and Molvi Abdul Hai.

Warris has not been printed but transcript of it is available at Aligarh.

(12) Amal-i Saleh by Saleh Kamboh: A history of Shah Jahan's reign in three volumes; edited by Mr. Yazdani (B.R.A.R.).

(C) URDU WORKS

(13). Fatawa-i Alamgiri, or Fatawa-i Hindiah
Translated into Urdu by Maulana Amir Ali. For further reference see chapter V, Introduction.

(14) Maulana Shibli: Aurangzeb Alamgiri: Per Ek Nazar.
This work is a good example of an uncritical adulation of Aurangzeb. The book had been reprinted by the Jamia Milia Press Aligarh, 1924. For further discussion see chapter IX, Introduction.

(D) MODERN ENGLISH WORKS.

15. Sarkar : Aurangzeb (Five volumes)
16. Sarkar : Studies in Aurangzeb.
17. Sarkar : Downfall of the Mughal Empire
18. Sarkar : Shivaji
19. G.S. Desai : New History of the Marathas.
20. Qanungo : Dara Shukoh
21. Professor Habib and Dr. Afsar : The Political theory of the Delhi Sultanate.
22. Mir Jumla
23. Prof. Sri Ram Sharma : Bibliography of Mughal India